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EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, 1930-35; SUMMARY OF THE WORK

Previous excavations in Ithaca.

Apart from the rather summary excavation on the summit of Aetós by Gell at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the opening of some tombs above Pisaetó by Guitara in 1811–14, excavations have been made in Ithaca on three occasions previously to Lord Rennell's expedition.[1]

In the course of two visits, one in 1868 and the other in 1878,[2] Schliemann dug trial trenches in the plain at Pólis, at the ' School of Homer,' at Aetós (both on the saddle and on the summit), at the cave of Dexiá, and at Marathiá. The work was carried out at great speed, and it is not always easy to make out from his description the precise nature of the objects found; nor is it known what has become of them. It is clear, however, that nothing Mycenaean was found.

In 1896 Dörpfeld and Wilhelm examined various parts of the island with a view to excavation, and in 1900 Dörpfeld, assisted by Goekoop and Preuner, made soundings at Pelikáta, on the slopes above Pólis, at Kástro Málos, and at the ' School of Homer.' They found only Hellenic remains of various periods, and one may suspect that, as far as Dörpfeld was concerned, the investigation was half-hearted, since already the Lefkás theory had begun to take shape in his mind.

Vollgraff's excavations followed in 1904.[3] In the south he sank two large shafts in the plain of Vathý and investigated the cave of Marmarospeliá. At Aetós he dug fairly extensively on the saddle, and was unlucky in just missing the rich proto-Corinthian deposit. At Pólis he dug in the plain, as Schliemann had done, and on the slopes; at the cave, where he found a few Mycenaean sherds, and at Pelikáta, where he found a few ' possibly pre-historic ' pieces. He made a careful examination of the ' School of Homer ' and its surroundings, and dug, without result, trial pits at the spring Melánudros. Though from the point of view of Homeric evidence, the results were mainly negative, the pre-Hellenic sherds provided a useful clue when, in 1930, I had to decide where to dig. Dr. Vollgraff's notebook, which he very kindly lent me, also proved most useful.

In 1930, just before our excavations began, M. Oikonómou of Athens claimed to have discovered near Vathý the τυκτὴ κρήνη. This claim was not, however, accepted by the archaeological commission which subsequently visited the island (cf. p. 4). In the course of the same and following years M. Kyparíssis, Ephor of Antiquities of the Acropolis, did some excavation at the cave of Dexiá, at Marathiá, at Agrós, and finally at the ' School of Homer.' Although certain claims were made from time to time, no definitive reports of his work have, as far as I know, appeared, and it seems that the discoveries were less relevant than was at first supposed.

The excavations of 1930–34.

The expedition of 1930-34 was thus the sixth attempt to find evidence of the identity of Ithaca by means of excavation. It was on a larger scale than any of the others, and, having at its disposal more time and larger means, was able to make a more thorough investigation. A student of Homer, with an intimate knowledge of the Ionian islands, Lord Rennell believed that the description in the *Odyssey* closely fitted modern Ithaca, and that, in spite of the negative results of previous attempts, more complete excavation could not fail to discover relevant remains. He accordingly raised a fund for this purpose and asked the Committee of the

[1] Cf. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* I 144–51.
[2] Cf. Schliemann, *Ithaka, der Peloponnes, und Troja* 14–25; *Ilios* (London 1880) pp. 45–50.
[3] Cf. Vollgraff, *BCH* 1905, 145 ff.

British School of Archaeology at Athens to undertake the work. The Committee agreed to do so, and appointed me field-director.

As a result of a preliminary visit to Ithaca in the spring of 1930, I felt reasonably sure that the northern half of the island would produce the kind of evidence we were looking for, rather than the southern; and that at Pelikáta, if anywhere, remains of the Homeric palace would be found. Subsidiary sites, which would also claim attention, were Hágios Athanásios, popularly known as the ' School of Homer,' where structural remains above ground, including a small tholos (Fig. 1), had long been familiar to visitors to the island, and where Lord Rennell himself was inclined to locate the palace; the cave on the shore at Pólis bay, where a native of Ithaca had once found a tripod, and where Vollgraff had found Mycenaean sherds; and the neighbourhood of Stavrós itself, which, apart from the fact that it still preserved the name Pólis, seemed the obvious place for the Homeric city.

Fig. 1.—Vase found with Burial at Pelikáta, beside the Stavrós Road.

Fig. 2.—Burial-jar, inscribed on the shoulder: ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ.

These then were the objectives of the season of 1930, which lasted from the beginning of August to the middle of October. I began work at Pelikáta, with Mr. C. R. Wason, Mr. T. C. Skeat, and Miss S. Benton as helpers, and Mr. T. Emmett as surveyor. Mr. T. Nerantzos was present throughout, representing the Archaeological Department of the Greek Ministry of Education. After a large number of trial pits had been sunk (*BSA* XXXV, Pl. 1) it became evident that the relevant remains lay within the circuit of the ' Cyclopean ' wall, which was itself shown by tests to be of prehistoric date.[1] I therefore decided to concentrate on this area, with a small number of workmen, while the other members of the party explored the secondary sites. Mr. Wason accordingly took charge at Hágios Athanásios, Mr. T. C. Skeat at Stavrós, and Miss Benton at the Pólis cave. At Hágios Athanásios, Mr. Wason cleared the *tholos*, which proved to be a spring chamber (Pl. 6, 1), and traced the foundations of other structures, including part of a flight of broad steps (Pl. 6, 2) and collected sufficient pottery to give a clue to the history of the site, which has since been more thoroughly explored by Miss Benton. At Stavrós, Mr. Skeat sunk trial pits at various points on the ridge and on

[1] *Outside* this wall we found scattered burials of various dates and types, including a pithos-burial inscribed Εὐτυχής (fig. 2), tile-graves, and graves composed of rough stones laid on end to enclose the body. In one of these the vase illustrated in Fig. 1 was found. It seems the area was used as a cemetery, not for habitation.

the slopes overlooking Pólis bay and at the spring of Asprosykiá; he uncovered one of a number of tile-graves grouped on the northern outskirts of Stavrós (Pl. 6, 3) and cleared the foundations of part of a substantial wall of undetermined date (Pl. 6, 4) which crossed the ridge, and of a rectangular building, perhaps Mycenaean, to judge from a few LM III sherds. Mr. Skeat also made a plan and sections of excavated areas at Pelikáta. As the work at the Pólis cave proceeded, it became obvious that exhaustive research would be impossible until some means of drawing away the sea water could be found. The solution of this problem was therefore deferred to another season.

In 1931 I spent the last fortnight of August at Pelikáta clearing up the area of Early Helladic pithos-burials, while Mr. Wason continued work on the area which had produced Mycenaean sherds in 1930, extending the pit, and carrying it down to virgin soil.

The selected sites in the north of the island, with the exception of the Pólis cave, having now been examined, we moved, at the beginning of September, to Aetós, which, in view of the finds made there by Schliemann and Vollgraff, seemed worth further investigation. Trial pits were sunk in the neighbourhood of the chapel of St. George, and on both sides of the saddle, principally on the northern. Foundations of a Hellenic sanctuary (*BSA* XXXIII, Fig. 3 (9)) were uncovered just south of the chapel; the Hellenic tower lying some 30 m. to the north was cleared (Pl. 5, 2); tests were made at various points of the Hellenic walls, both on the summit of Aetós and on the slopes. In the trial pits to the south of the chapel, derivative Mycenaean and proto-Geometric pottery as well as proto-Corinthian began to appear, associated with a terrace wall, of which, however, only a preliminary examination was possible. At Pisaetó, a fine piece of Hellenic wall, evidently part of the habour-works, was found and partly uncovered (Pl. 5, 1). Mr. Wason made a sketch-plan of the site: other helpers were Miss Benton and Miss H. L. Lorimer.

On August 9, 1932, I resumed work at Aetós, concentrating on the area south of the Hellenic sanctuary. Along the southern foot of the terrace-wall discovered in 1931, I cleared a stratified deposit of Geometric and proto-Corinthian vases and objects, evidently temple offerings (to be published by Mr. C. M. Robertson), while Miss Lorimer, working north of the same wall, found that the proto-Geometric pottery was associated with rather confused groups of stones, which she has tentatively identified as cremation-cairns (*BSA* XXXIII, 27–36). Miss Grey (Mrs. G. A. D. Tait) made a sketch-map of the site and its surroundings, extending from the summit of Aetós to the coast at Pisaetó. Mr. G. A. D. Tait and Mr. C. Cremin were present for part of the time and gave much useful help. After Miss Lorimer's departure on Sept. 14, Miss Haspells joined us, and stayed several days, helping with the pottery.

Meanwhile at Pólis, having (after several unsuccessful attempts) secured an efficient pump from Patras, Miss Benton continued work at the cave. In this difficult and delicate piece of excavation, she was most ably assisted by Mr. C. A. Ralegh-Radford and Mr. G. A. D. Tait. The finds have fully justified the trouble and expense which the operation involved. Miss Benton returned to Athens on Sept. 21; I remained at Aetós until Oct. 10.

In 1934 I came from Palestine to finish off the small part of the proto-Corinthian deposit left undug in 1932, arriving in Ithaca on April 9. At the same time Miss Lorimer arrived to finish the 'cairns' area. Mr. J. C. B. Richmond accompanied me from Palestine, and, assisted by Miss Benton, plotted the walls of the Hellenic town, using the sketch-map made by Mrs. G. A. D. Tait in 1932. Miss Benton also made tests of the walls at several points. Miss Lorimer and Miss Benton left on May 1 for Zakynthos. Having finished the excavation on April 27, I remained until May 18, preparing the pottery and other objects from the 'cairns'

area for publication, Mr. Richmond meanwhile making the drawings (*BSA* XXXIII, 37–65, Pl. 3–6).

In the late summer of 1935, I again came from Palestine and spent three weeks at Pelikáta, preparing for publication (*BSA* XXXV 1–44, Pl. 1–9) the prehistoric material found in 1930, and arranging the new museum which the inhabitants of Stavrós had been enabled to erect, largely owing to the generosity of Mr. Lekatsás. The tripods from the cave at Pólis were taken to Athens for restoration, but are to be returned to Stavrós. Miss A. Richmond made the drawings of pottery and other objects, and Mr. J. M. Cook was present part of the time, studying the pottery from Hágios Athanásios.

In all the campaigns, except that of 1930, the party lived in tents, and Mrs. Heurtley undertook the cooking and all the domestic arrangements.

In September 1930 Lord and Lady Rennell paid a visit to the expedition, and stayed several days at Stavrós. Lord Rennell visited us also in August 1932, when we were at Aetós. During the season of 1931, owing to a controversy which had arisen in the Athenian press with regard to alleged discoveries made by other archaeologists then working on the island, an archaeological commission, consisting of Professor Oikonómos, Dr. Kourouniótes and Dr. Orlándos, was sent to investigate these claims. They visited Aetós on Sept. 22, and the following day I accompanied them to Pelikáta.

It would hardly be possible to mention the names of all those to whom our gratitude for help of various kinds is due; a general expression of our thanks to the people of Ithaca for their kindliness and hospitality must suffice. We are, however, especially indebted to Mr. K. Petalás, Mayor of Vathý, for his enthusiastic interest in, and support of, our work; to the people of Vathy and the Ἕνωσις ἁπανταχοῦ Ἰθακησίων for generous contributions; to M. Marátos, owner of part of the site at Aetós, for affording facilities for excavation and for placing at our disposal his store-room at Vathý; to M. Giustiniáni, for permission to use the school; to M. G. Algerinós for devoted service, to M. Païzis and the people of Stavrós for much help and for the energy which prompted them to erect, even while excavations were still in progress, a small but adequate museum in which to exhibit the finds from the Stavrós area.

W. A. Heurtley.

EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA; SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

WITH PLATES I, II, III

THAT a strong case can, quite apart from archaeological evidence, be made for identifying the Ithaca of to-day with the Ithaca described in the *Odyssey* has been shown by Lord Rennell. To find archaeological evidence which would support that case was the aim of the expedition; and it is the object of this article to shew that such evidence has been obtained; that many of the finds do, in fact, appreciably strengthen that case, while one of them provides evidence in its favour, falling little short of proof. With the problem of the identity of the island, the secondary problems of the identification of particular sites and of the autopsy of Homer are inseparably connected, and together they constitute the well-known 'Ithaca question' which has been the subject of continuous controversy among scholars since the time of Gell.[1] Before going on to discuss the bearing of the archaeological evidence now available, a few personal impressions regarding the question may be set down.

While not doubting that modern Ithaca and the Ithaca of the *Odyssey* are one and the same, I do not find the attempts to make the Homeric description fit the geographical and topographical facts really convincing, and I agree with those who hold that a strictly objective interpretation of the words used would shew that the poet had a wrong conception of the grouping of the islands and of the geography of Ithaca itself. The most recent exponent of this view known to me, Dr. Belzner, a German scholar, in his thesis *Land u. Heimat des Odysseus*, published in 1915, added a sketch-map to shew the grouping of the islands and the position of the sites in Ithaca to conform with the picture which, from a study of the most natural meaning of the words, he conceived to have been in Homer's mind.

To take a few of the familiar difficulties:—Πανυπερτάτη ἐν ἁλὶ κεῖται πρὸς ζόφον (*Od.* ix 21–27). As an accurate description of the position of Ithaca these words have never been satisfactorily explained. Seure (*Journal des Savants* 1932–3 p. 457) has made an ingenious attempt to do so by transposing lines 25 and 26 so that πρὸς ζόφον comes after Ζάκυνθος and the three islands Dulíchion, Sáme and Zákynthos form a western group, the other islands, including Ithaca, forming an eastern group, of which Ithaca lies farthest in the sea. In view of the difficulty created by the words, one can understand how, despairing of any explanation, enthusiasts for Homer's reputation have cast their eyes on other islands. Bérard, an experienced yachtsman, who sailed in these waters, found the description just, 'par rapport aux terres achéennes,' and it is true that to anyone sailing from the south-western coast of the Peloponnese, the southern tip of Ithaca might be described as lying πρὸς ζόφον in relation to the southern tip of Cephallonia, but to one continuing up the channel past Sáme the true relative position of the islands would become apparent, and, throughout this part of the voyage, Ithaca could not possibly be described as lying πρὸς ζόφον.

Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε (24). Cephallonia was clearly meant, but loosely thought of as two islands.[2]

χθαμαλή (25). Of the many suggestions—*e.g.*, 'low in relation to Cephallonia,' 'close to land' in relation to Cephallonia or to the mainland, 'low on the horizon,' none satisfies. Its natural meaning, 'flat,' is quite inappropriate, though consistent with the

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[1] For bibliography see Bérard, *Ithaque et la Grèce des Achéens* pp. 205–8, and for recent literature, Dörpfeld *Alt-Ithaka* pp. 405–15.

[2] A good deal of scorn has been poured on this view by writers, beginning with Strabo, but the survival of the name Doúlicho in Cephallonia cannot be disregarded, especially by those who attach importance for their arguments in defence of Ithaca to the survival of its name in Thiáki. Those who accept Cephallonia as Doulichion, and identify Same with Lefkás or some other island are in the same predicament; and difficulties raised by other references to Doulichion in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* are not so great as the difficulty of explaining away the survival of the name.

words in line 21, ' In it there is a mountain,' which are equally inappropriate, since Ithaca does not contain a mountain, but is a mountain, rising almost everywhere steeply from the sea, and has practically no flat land at all. Οὐ χθαμαλὴ would be a truer description.

Of other adjectives used—*e.g.*, εὐδείελος, τρηχεῖα, παιπαλόεσσα, κρανάη all are appropriate enough, but might be used of almost any Mediterranean island. Ἀμφίαλος, on the other hand, is descriptive—' commanding two seas '—if applied to the city, as it appears to be in *Odyssey* xxi 252; but the meaning is disputed.

A major difficulty is the description of Astéris (*Od.* iv 844–7). Some ingenuity is required to fit the words ' with double harbour ' ἀμφίδυμοι to the tiny, almost submerged, islet off the coast of Cephallonia. Earthquakes, subsidences, and quarrying have all been enlisted to explain its failure to come up to the description, and, even so, the words ' midway in the channel ' (μέσσῃ ἁλὶ . . . μεσσηγύς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε) have still to be explained. I do not doubt that Daskalió is the Homeric Asterís, and, actually, with masts lowered, the suitors could have hidden behind it, even as it is to-day, but the description of it is quite misleading.

So, too, the descriptions of particular spots, such as Eumaeus' farm, the landing-place of Odysseus, Laertes' garden, the τυκτὴ κρήνη and the site of the palace itself, though detailed, leave a good deal to the imagination, as is, indeed, shewn by the various attempts to identify them. I do not doubt that Homer is throughout describing sites that really existed, but I think that in trying to find minute correspondence between his descriptions and the geographical or topographical reality, it has not been sufficiently remembered that a certain lack of precision, in contrast with the careful word-painting of modern writers, is characteristic of descriptions of scenery in ancient Greek poets, who were not particularly interested in it for its own sake, but regarded it, like stage scenery, as a setting, to be painted with a broad brush, and that this attitude was in fact imposed by the conventions of their craft.

If this attitude is taken into account, there seems little serious objection to the identification of Thiáki with Ithaca, but it is easy to understand how those who have failed to do so, have, in perfectly good faith, looked elsewhere, and, if an island which really corresponded in every detail with Homer's Ithaca could be found, there would be some reason for agreeing with them. But this is not so, and so many rival claims, supported by so much ingenuity, have been advanced, that it is clear that none is overwhelmingly appropriate. What puts the claim of Thiáki, other things being equal, above all rivals is its possession of the traditional name, to account for which no adequate explanation, except the obvious and natural one, has, in my opinion, ever been given; and this claim is now markedly reinforced by the archaeological evidence.

On the secondary problems of how Homer got his information, and the identification of particular sites, a word may be said.

I cannot believe, even when what has been said about the attitude of Greek poets to the scenic background of their works is taken into account, that Homer could ever have visited Ithaca; nor do I understand why any special importance should be attached to his having done so, unless it is supposed that his integrity is somehow affected if he is describing what he has not seen. One of the results of the excavation has been to shew that there was direct contact between Ithaca and Ionia during the seventh century B.C. At that time sailors and others making the journey to Italy through the sound that separates Ithaca from Cephallonia have left records of their passage in the form of offerings of vases and other objects at one or other of two small shrines on the Ithacan shore, and some of these vases are of seventh-century Ionian manufacture. If Homer was an Ionian, living in the seventh century, as is credibly supposed, we have in the Ionian vases found in Ithaca a clue as to how he got his information

about the island. Nor is this all. At the Pólis cave-shrine the travellers could not fail to see the magnificent series of tripods left as offerings by earlier visitors, and on their return to Ionia descriptions of these marvels would get about. Nor is it fanciful to suppose that spots of interest on the island, associated with its hero, would be pointed out to the strangers, so that, without having visited Ithaca, Homer would be able to get first-hand information about its lay-out, quite sufficiently precise for his purpose. This appears to me an adequate explanation both of what he has got wrong and what he has got right. And a good deal of the description is seen to be right, when once a fixed point has been obtained, which can be accepted with reasonable certainty as the scene of one or other of the incidents that go to make up the story of the return. Such a fixed point I hold to be the site of the palace, which, as I have tried to shew elsewhere, can, on the archaeological evidence, fairly be placed at Pelikáta. The city is then at Stavrós (still called Pólis),[1] the bay of Afáles becomes Reithron, the τυκτὴ κρήνη can without strain be identified at the fountain of Asprosykiá, of which more later (p. 10); Marathiá must be the site of Eumaeus' farm, and Parapegádi of Arethusa's fountain.

The only serious difficulty is the position of the cave. This, if the other sites are correctly identified, should be at Dexiá, at the head of an arm of the Vathý Sound, and where there are, in fact, remains of an ancient quarry, which may once have been a cave. From here the cave of Marmarospeliá, which has been frequently proposed, is rather far away, half-an-hour's climb, but can claim two openings, one to the north and one to the south, the latter being a narrow hole in the roof, and consequently suitable for the entrances and exits of gods. (*Od.* xiii 109–12). The cave at Pólis lies, it is true, close to the shore, but the Homeric description of the bay, at the head of which the cave lay (*Od.* xiii 96–104) cannot be adjusted to the bay of Pólis, a shallow inlet exposed to south and south-west winds,[2] and, moreover, too near the city. However, as a result of the finding of tripods in the cave in the course of the excavations, to which I have already referred and shall refer later, this cave has now a serious claim to have been in the poet's mind and to have supplied material for his picture. I think what happened was that Homer, when working on the Odysseus epic and looking for local colour, asked some traveller or sailor, recently returned from Ithaca (or possibly a native of Ithaca who was one of the crew of a trading ship) for a description of the island's principal features and objects of interest, and received a description of all three caves, which he deliberately combined to create the picture we have.

To resume. If their natural meaning is allowed to the words used in the description of Ithaca in *Od.* ix, the inference is that Homer's conception of the geography of the islands is badly out, and that consequently he cannot have visited them, and this is confirmed by his description of Astéris and the Cave of the Nymphs, the first being misleading, and the second a synthesis. These anomalies are explicable, if we suppose he was working on descriptive material supplied by others, which he was not concerned to employ with more than the approximate precision which the tradition of Epic required, but less explicable if we suppose he had himself visited the island. It is not, of course, impossible that he had done so, but the amount of latitude he has allowed himself in his description seems too great. The case for autopsy is perfectly arguable, but the case for non-autopsy is, I think, better. The above considerations

[1] *Antiquity* IX, 1935, pp. 410–17; *BSA* XXXV p. 44.

[2] But there is no reason to suppose that the collapse of the cliff, which reduced the cave to its present roofless condition, was confined to that one spot, or an isolated occurrence. The whole of the harbour may have been affected, and, if not at that time, as the result of one of the many earthquakes and subsidences which have left numerous traces, especially in this half of the island, ' the detached headlands of sheer cliff that stand forth and screen the harbour ' (Lawrence's translation) may well have collapsed too, and the large, half-submerged rocks that lie off the shore on the east side of the entrance suggest that something of the sort has happened. If so, Homer's description is, after all, less inaccurate than it seems.

are also valid for identifying modern Ithaca with the Ithaca which Homer had in mind; reasons for looking for it elsewhere being, in my opinion, insufficient.

It is sometimes said that the attempt to do this is not, nowadays, of much interest. People say this either because they believe the events never happened, or because they have grown weary of the controversy, and, on the principle that if you see two dogs fighting they are both probably in the wrong and should be left to fight it out, adopt an attitude of non-intervention or indifference, or even suspect one's motives. I cannot agree that the events are not at any rate based on fact, and believing that they are, I think that the attempt to identify the places where these events took place is worth while, and a legitimate object for archaeology. Professor Nilsson,[1] who believes that the story of Odysseus' return is one of those romances or sailors' stories which originally were not ' bound up with a certain person but were attached to one person or to another who seemed suitable, and Odysseus was suitable as king of an empire of far-off islands,' admits that he cannot understand why it was located in Ithaca, but allows it to be inferred that the discovery of suitable archaeological evidence might cause him to review his opinion (*l.c.* p. 95 n. 1).

What kind of archaeological evidence should we expect to find that would help to establish the identity of Ithaca?

The likelihood of finding fixed remains on a large scale is practically ruled out by the physical and climatic conditions. Ithaca is almost all rock, there is no depth of soil except for a few small alluvial deposits formed by water-courses or winter rains, as at Vathý, Pólis and Pisaetó; cultivation is possible only by means of elaborate terracing, and for this purpose (as well as for building houses) every suitable stone is requisitioned. However, a few have survived *in situ*.

Apart from fixed remains, we should expect to find pottery, or objects, or both, of the following periods: Firstly, since, as we believe, the events occurred shortly after the Trojan War, and since the Trojan War is held to have coincided with the break-up of the Mycenaean civilisation, we should expect to find pottery etc. that could be assigned to the end of the Late Helladic III [2] period.

Secondly, since the *Odyssey* reflects, as well as the civilisation of the Trojan War period, the civilisation of the period during which it was written, we should expect to find remains of this period. This is held by many to have been early in the seventh century. We have, as I have shown, been fortunate enough to find evidence of actual trade or other contacts with Ionia where Homer is believed to have lived, which illustrates how he could come by first-hand information about the island.

Thirdly, we should expect to find evidence of continuity of occupation during the intervening period, which would indicate the possibility of the maintenance of an unbroken tradition going back to the events themselves, and evidence of, at least, intermittent contact with the rest of the Greek world during that period, which would shew how that tradition might be common knowledge outside the island itself.

Fourthly, we should expect to find some evidence of a cult of Odysseus.

Lastly, we might hope—though we should hardly expect—to find some of the actual objects seen by Homer's informants and referred to in the poem.

Actually we have found remains of all these kinds and periods. We have also found remains of the pre-Mycenaean period and evidence of a continuous occupation in the north of

[1] M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* 1932 p. 99.

[2] By LH III pottery I mean standard LH III, as opposed to ' derivative Mycenaean,' ' Granary style ' etc. Elsewhere I have used ' Mycenaean ' in the same sense.

the island from the second half of the Early Helladic period to the end of the Mycenaean. These pre-Mycenaean remains do not, however, here concern us, except in so far as they can be taken to shew that the civilisation of the island remained Early Helladic in character from first to last, and that Mycenaean influence, to judge by the proportion of Late Helladic III sherds to Early Helladic, was very limited.

We can now consider the Homeric implications of the remains of the respective periods, taking them in order, beginning with the Mycenaean.

The Mycenaean Periods.

Among the sixty (or so) Mycenaean sherds from Pelikáta are included thirty kylix-stems, all of the straight kind (*BSA* XXXV p. 32, fig. 27). The straight-stemmed kylix is characteristic of the thirteenth century, and thus of the second half of the LH III period. Early in the twelfth century it either died out or assumed the swollen or ringed form of which several examples were found at Aetós. Now, the Mycenaean sherds at Pelikáta were all found in the upper part of the fill of a large depression by the side of a modern house that occupies the centre of the highest part of the hill. Incorporated in this modern house and in adjacent houses and terrace-walls are many fairly large blocks of carefully-worked stone, which have evidently been taken from some older and more substantial structure. Now, since within the ancient circuit-wall (to which I shall refer later) there are no traces of occupation later than the Mycenaean (with the exception, of course, of the modern—possibly Venetian, and later—houses), it is a reasonable inference that these carefully-worked blocks belong to a building of Mycenaean style and date. How else can they be accounted for?

The fact that these stones are round about the spot where the Mycenaean sherds were found permits the inference that stones and pottery are to be associated with one another, and, consequently, that a Mycenaean building stood just there, exactly where we should expect to find it, at the central point of the summit, and, since Mycenaean pottery was not found anywhere else on the hill, it is a further inference that only those who occupied this building used it. These can hardly have been any but the chieftain, his family, and immediate circle, among whom a less provincial standard of life than that of their neighbours is what we should expect to find.

This suggestion is further justified by a piece of negative evidence.

The filling in which the Mycenaean sherds occurred was composed of earth, plaster and an enormous quantity of the normal pottery of the site, *i.e.*, Early Helladic. This filling was over $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres thick. Below it was another $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres composed of a mass of unworked stones among which sherds were again plentiful, but exclusively Early Helladic. Similar depressions at three other points on the hill were also filled with small unworked stones and Early Helladic sherds, including some Minyan; pieces of clay bearing the impress of reeds (these occurred also in the Mycenaean filling), whet-stones, flint and obsidian blades and stone celts were also found among the stones, and there remains no doubt that these stones represent the rubble foundations or walls of houses which formerly stood in the neighbourhood of the depressions, and which, at some unknown date, were shovelled, along with their roofing and contents, into the depressions, presumably in order to increase the level area of the site. How is the absence of such stones in the upper half of the filling in the depression at the summit to be accounted for, seeing that in other respects its composition resembles that of the others? Had the neighbouring house been of rubble, the filling would presumably have included that rubble. As it does not, we can only conclude that the house that stood there, unlike the others, was

not built of rubble, but of larger stones, and that these stones were too valuable to be used for filling, and the inference is that the good worked stones, which we see incorporated in the modern terrace-walls and houses, are the missing stones of that house. The lowest part of the filling, containing unworked stones, represents an earlier rubble building destroyed to make way for the new.

This argument will, I fear, appear ingenious, but it should not be dismissed as merely ' special pleading.' I offer it as an explanation of what somehow has to be accounted for, I mean the presence of the Mycenaean sherds in the filling and the absence of the stones of the building with which they must have been associated, stones which, on the analogy of the fillings in the other depressions, should have been shovelled in along with the sherds.

The ' Cyclopean ' wall enclosing the summit, of which the line can be picked up at various points by means of the colossal blocks, some of them in their original position, others rolled a short distance from it, cannot be precisely dated, except in so far as it cannot be post-Mycenaean. The Early Helladic sherds, which were invariably found associated with the blocks *in situ*, cannot be taken as proof of an Early Helladic date, since Early Helladic seems to have remained in use as the standard ware throughout the life of the settlement. The ' Cyclopean ' wall may quite well have been built in the Late Mycenaean period, and its erection would be in keeping with similar building activity elsewhere. The enormous blocks forming a lower course can, in fact, be paralleled in the LH III ' Cyclopean work ' at Mycenae. But it may equally well have been the work of the Early Helladic settlers, as I have inferred elsewhere (*BSA* XXXV p. 43).

To sum up. We have at Pelikáta direct evidence in the LH III sherds that the summit of the hill was occupied by some building at the end of the Mycenaean Age, and indirect evidence that the building was of good ashlar masonry. An imposing circuit-wall enclosed the area lying immediately round this building, but whether this wall had existed before that building we cannot say. I consider that, until more significant remains are found in an equally suitable place we are perfectly justified in accepting the hill of Pelikáta as the site of the Homeric palace.

At Pelikáta nothing later than the LH III sherds was found until we come to the fifth century and later burials (all outside the circuit-wall), and we must infer that the site was abandoned about the date at which the return of Odysseus is supposed to have taken place.

So much for the palace. As regards the city, we should expect, if the site of the palace has been rightly identified, to find it a short distance outside the circuit-wall on the ridge of Stavrós, which, surely significantly, has retained the name Pólis to this day, and on the slopes that overlook its harbour. Actually some evidence for its position there has been found. In several of our trial pits in the neighbourhood of Stavrós, Mycenaean sherds, including some kylix-stems, turned up, as well as just below the fountain of Asprosykiá (*BSA* XXXV pl. 8, no. 126), which I have already suggested as a suitable site for the τυκτὴ κρήνη. More recently Miss Benton has reported the discovery of the foundations of a Mycenaean building and Mycenaean sherds at Tris Langádes. The existence of a small town in Mycenaean times stretching round the head of the bay is thus sufficiently well attested.

Other LH III sherds are three kylix-stems from the spring chamber at the ' School of Homer ' (Hagios Athanásios), anticipating perhaps the votives which were later to be deposited there; a fair number of LH III sherds in the cave at Pólis (which have the appearance of being imported) representing the Mycenaean period in the continuous record of cult or of occupation at this spot, which reaches back to Early Helladic times.

At Aetós a few sherds of standard LH III were associated with the cairns (*BSA* XXXIII

p. 39 nos. 8, 10; 40 no. 12). Otherwise, Mycenaean remains so far found are confined to the north of the island.

Period of Derivative and Provincial Mycenaean and Proto-geometric Pottery.

The cairns [1] at Aetós should, to judge from the pottery, be assigned partly to the period following the eclipse of standard Mycenaean pottery, which we suppose to have occurred early in the twelfth century, and partly to that of the Proto-geometric styles of the eleventh and later. The few standard LH III sherds associated with the cairns may be taken, unless they are strays, as evidence that the earliest cremations are either contemporary with, or closely follow on, the latest remains at Pelikáta, and on this evidence the first ashes might be of men of the generation of the Trojan War. Whether the spot acquired its sanctity because of the cremations, or was chosen for cremations because of its sanctity, cannot be determined. Two streams once took their rise here, one on either side of the saddle, and flowed, one to the sound at Pisaetó, the other into the gulf of Mólo, and the existence of this double source would be enough to account for the rise of a cult. In any case, offerings of vases continued to be made here all through the 'Dark Ages,' and since both the derivative Mycenaean, and the Proto-geometric that develops from it, are of local make, the inference is that the island was continuously inhabited, and it is thus possible to understand how the Odysseus tradition would have been preserved until the opening of regular intercourse with the rest of the Greek world, illustrated by the appearance of Corinthian Geometric at Aetós about 850 B.C., when that tradition would become familiar far beyond the confines of the island.

At Pólis, the period of derivative Mycenaean is represented by a large number of vases, very similar to those from Aetós; the Proto-geometric, on the other hand, by very few.

Period of Pottery of Geometric Style.

To this period, which may be taken to have begun about 850 B.C., and which, including the period of transition to the next style, lasted to about 700, belongs the series of tripods found in the cave at Pólis, together with fragments of about 100 Geometric vases. These tripods are clearly dedications, and the question arises, 'To whom were they dedicated?' Miss Benton has suggested that they may be dedications to Odysseus, possibly by victors at the Odysseia games, which we know of as being later held in Ithaca, in the third century B.C. (*BSA* XXXV pp. 53–4). There is some reason for thinking that the long hollow that lies at the foot of the slopes overlooking the bay of Pólis is the site of a stadium. In any case, the suggestion is reasonable, though it cannot be proved. Tripods were among the gifts [2] of the Phaeacians brought by Odysseus to Ithaca, and stored by him and Athena in a cave, and inscriptions on third-century sherds found in the cave at Pólis (*BSA* XXXV pp. 54), shew that there was a sanctuary of the Nymphs there. These tripods must surely have been in Homer's mind when he included tripods among the Phaecian gifts, and though his informant may have told him how they really got there (and the latest of them (ca. 700) must have been only recently dedicated), he made use of the information to enhance the traditional story. Or it may have been that the tale of the storing of the tripods was the version provided by the guardians of the sanctuary for the benefit of credulous seamen, who would not be able to catch them out by pointing out that the series extended over 150 years, and that the earliest was later than the time of Odysseus; or, if his informant was an Ithacan, the tale may have been

[1] It is not absolutely certain that they were cairns. Cf. *BSA* XXXIII p. 27.

[2] The exact number of tripods, though not stated in *Odyssey* viii 390–3, must be inferred to be thirteen, like the other gifts. Pieces of at least twelve were found in the cave, in addition to the complete tripod found earlier by Louísos (*BSA* XXXV pp. 53–4).

the stock fabulous yarn put about by the islanders to enhance the renown of their island and its hero. But whatever the process by which the true history of the tripods became obscured, their value as evidence for the identity of Ithaca is incontestable.

To return to Aetós. At this sanctuary the stream of Corinthian Geometric pottery begins about 850 B.C., perhaps somewhat later than the latest pottery of the cairns, with which, in fact, it is not stratigraphically associated. Thus, a short interruption in the cult might be inferred, but this is not certain. The stream continues for two hundred years, and attests the steady popularity of the shrine and consequent fame of Ithaca on the mainland as a port of call on the western voyage. For it was during the second half of the ninth century that the expansion of the Greeks towards Italy and Sicily was taking place, and many of these dedications must have been left by sailors, merchants, or travellers on their way through the channel between Ithaca and Cephallonia—a route commonly used to-day. Both Aetós and Pólis would be visited, but Aetós would also be frequented by travellers and others using the land-bridge of Ithaca to pass from the mainland to Cephallonia; for it is situated at the narrowest part of the island, and there are harbours at either side; and the Pisaetó harbour was more sheltered than it is to-day, and, at some time, was further protected by a fine wall or pier, discovered in the course of the excavations. Vases and other objects would also be dedicated by Ithacans themselves. For that the island was inhabited during this period we know from the fact that a local school of vase-painting was flourishing, and it may be inferred that the settlement at Aetós, which was later to be a fortified town of some size, had already come into being.

In the eighth century the fame of Ithaca must have reached the Cyclades, because Cycladic influence is recognisable in the locally made pottery. At the very end of the century Cretan influence appears, and there is one vase which may be a Cretan import.

Thus, in the intermediate period, between the age of the events described in the *Odyssey* and the age when it was composed, there is evidence of a steadily growing familiarity with Ithaca, beginning on the mainland and then spreading to the islands.

The Period of Orientalising Pottery.

For the seventh-century, East Greek vases are well represented among the dedications at Aetós. This is particularly gratifying as it proves direct contact between Ithaca and Ionia at the time when many scholars believe Homer was living there, and makes it easy to understand how he came by his information. Offerings and votives continued to accumulate at both Aetós and Pólis, especially at Aetós, where a fibula and some amber figures of animals of Italian origin shew that the shrine was visited on the return journey as well as on the outward.

Vase-offerings begin to fall off at Aetós towards the close of the seventh century, and come to an end before the middle of the sixth, but terracottas shew that the cult was maintained into the fifth century. At Pólis it lasted until the first century A.D. Of these later offerings the only ones that have significance for our purpose are the third century sherds from Pólis inscribed with the word νυμφαῖς, to which reference has already been made, and the broken mask of the first century A.D. inscribed with the name of Odysseus (*BSA* XXXV p. 55, fig. 7).

To resume: we have discovered in Ithaca evidence for people with Mycenaean contacts living in the north of the island at the time when the Trojan War is reasonably believed to have taken place, both in the very place where we should expect the palace of a Mycenaean chieftain to have stood, and in the place where we should expect the city to be, and which bears the name of Pólis to this day. We have found remains almost if not quite continuous with the Mycenaean in the southern half of the island, which point to an unbroken occupation during the Dark

Ages and shew that the tradition could be preserved; and, following on them, along with evidence that this occupation was still uninterrupted, traces of contact with mainland Greece and the islands in the form of dedications, including tripods, at two coastal sanctuaries, all this proving that Ithaca was again becoming known in the Greek world in the period before Homer lived; and finally we have found evidence of direct contact with his own part of that world in his own lifetime. This evidence gives a significance they would not otherwise possess for our argument, to the name of Odysseus inscribed on the dedicatory mask left in the cave at Pólis in the first century A.D., and also to the Odysseia which we know were being held in Ithaca in the third century B.C. For in view of the evidence we have been able to collect, that the island was continuously inhabited from the time of the events themselves, and from the middle of the ninth century was in continuous and increasingly close contact with the rest of the Greek world, it follows that the association of the island with Odysseus need not have sprung up late and by chance or as a result of the poem, but may well represent a local tradition going back to the original happenings. To the doubt as to how Odysseus' name came to be associated with Ithaca, the answer is perhaps the simple one, that it was really his home, and it was there that the events took place which supplied the material for Homer's description of the Return.

W. A. Heurtley.

ROYAL LETTERS IN BEROEA [1]

When Woodward first published,[2] among the inscriptions found by Wace in Beroea, the letters of Demetrius II to Harpalus, he had not a first-hand acquaintance with the stone and had, therefore, to rely on Wace's copy and squeezes. Now this stele, suffering as it does from water-erosion, yields very little by squeezing. It must be studied at first-hand and in a good light. Woodward himself realised this, when he said: 'Prolonged study of the stone in a favourable light might recover a few more letters.' It was my good fortune to be able to study the original in these favourable circumstances during a visit to Beroea in 1936 in the company of Mr. C. F. Edson of Harvard University. Our method was to moisten the surface of the stone and study it letter by letter in bright sunlight, and in the light of a powerful electric torch from different angles. Often the presence of a letter could be detected only by observing the discoloration left by the chisel-strokes. As a result, our information on the second and third letters, which were previously considered beyond recovery, has been substantially increased; and, while the second letter still remains, to a certain extent, a matter of conjecture, the third can be restored with considerable confidence.

The upper portion of the right side of the stele has been broken away; the separated piece is now in two fragments, the upper of which, containing the right portion of ll. 1–6, was found among the miscellaneous marbles preserved in the local Boy Scouts' Headquarters in the Old Metropolis, a collection which forms the nucleus of a museum. The lower fragment, which would contain about the last six or seven letters of ll. 7–12, is missing, and could not be found after careful search.

The following are the measurements.—H. (extant) 0·57 m. W. (at top) 0·58 m. W. (original) at l. 15 of text 0·565 m. Th. 0·115 m. Letters, ll. 1–3, 0·012 m. (O and Ω are smaller than the others, O = 0·005 m.); ll. 4–16, 0·014 m.; interspaces, ll. 1–3, 0·005 m.; ll. 4–16, 0·008 m.

Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιγόνου, ἔτους ϛ′ καὶ λ′, ἐντυχόντων
Δημητρίῳ τῶν κυνηγῶν Χάρτα τοῦ Νικάν[ο]ρος, Ἀττύλου τοῦ
Νικάνορος, ἐδόθησαν αἱ ἐπιστ[ολ]αί·

Δημήτριος Ἁρπάλῳ χαίρειν· οἱ [ἱε]ρεῖς οἱ τοῦ
Ἡρακ[λ]έους φασὶν τῶν προσόδων τινὰς τῷ[ν]
τοῦ θεο[ῦ] εἰς τὰς πολιτικὰς κατα[τ]ετάχ[θαι]·
ἐπιμελήθηθι οὖν ὅπως ἀποκαταστ[αθῶσιν]
πάλιν τῷ θεῷ· ἔρρωσο.

Δημήτριος Ἁρπάλῳ χαίρειν· Ι . . . Λ[- - -]
ΜΕΝΟΙ πρότερον φαίνοντ[α]ι Η . . . ΕΣ[- - -]
εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. ἐπεὶ . [ca. 8] . ΓΕ . . . ΥΣ[- - -]
[χ]ρείαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνατιθέτωσαν [ἀντὶ]
τῶν φιαλῶν ΙΕΡΑΤΑΙΙΠ . . ι . ΦοΥΣ· ἔρρωσο.

Δημή[τ]ριος Ἁρπάλ[ῳ χαίρειν· οἱ ἱερε]ῖς οἱ το[ῦ]
Ἡρακλ[έ]ους ἀτε[λεῖς ἔστων πάντων ὅσ]ων καὶ οἱ
το[ῦ Ἀ]σκληπιοῦ· ἔρρωσο· ἔτους [ϛ′ καὶ λ′].

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[1] I am indebted to Professor A. Cameron, Professor L. Robert, and Mr. M. N. Tod for some helpful suggestions in preparing this paper.

[2] *BSA*, XVIII, 134–9, no. 1. Cf. Dittenberger, *SIG*[3], 459 (which gives only ll. 1–8 of the text); Schroeter, *De regum Hellenisticorum epistulis in lapidibus servatis quaestiones stilisticae*, Leipzig, 1931, 69, no. 19; Roussel, *REG*, XLIII 367–9; C. F. Edson, 'The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea,' *Harv. St.*, XLV, 213–46; S. Pelekides, 'Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης, 12 note 3, where he says that he has examined the stone, and that in l. 5 'τὰ ἴχνη τῶν γραμμάτων . . . δίνουν ὅπως συμπλήρωσα,' *i.e.*, Ἡρακλέους φασίν.

Introduction. L. 1. Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιγόνου, ἔτους ϛ′ καὶ λ′. The evidence for the dating of the reign of Antigonus is discussed in Tarn's *Antigonus Gonatas*, 112, n. 3, 434, n. 6, and 478, where he argues that the thirty-sixth year of Antigonus' reign is 242/1 B.C.; in this conclusion he is followed by Woodward. Beloch, however, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii, 2, 81, (in a statement subsequently omitted in iv², 2, 121) reckoned Antigonus' reign not from the year of his accession to the throne of Macedon (277/6), but from the death of his father, Demetrius Poliorcetes (284/3); this would make the thirty-sixth year 249/8. Beloch's view is accepted in *SIG*³, 459 by Hiller von Gaertringen, who gives the date as 248/7.

L. 2. Δημητρίῳ. Ion I. Russu in his 'Onomasticon Macedonicum' in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, viii, 184, no. 3, either makes no mention of Demetrius II or confuses him with Demetrius Poliorcetes: 'Demetrios Poliorcetes, re, figlio (*sic*) di Antigonos Gonatas.' His reference to Kaerst, *P–W*, iv, 2769, no. 33 points to the former alternative; in that case 'figlio' should be 'padre.' Wilamowitz expressed a doubt in *SIG*³, 459 as to whether Demetrius II was meant in this inscription; on which Schoch, *P–W*, *Suppl.*, iv, 711, 3a, remarks: 'Der Zweifel von v. Wilamowitz ist durchaus unbegründet.'

Κυνηγῶν. The subject of κυνηγοί is treated by Roussel, *REG*, xliii, 361–71, and by L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris, 1938, 78, n. 1. Ziebarth also refers to our inscription in *P–W*, xi, 2528, *s.v.* 'Kynegoi': 'Die königlichen κυνηγοί, in makedonischen Diensten als Überbringer eines königlichen Schreibens.' In *SIG*³, 459 Hiller thinks that these κυνηγοί 'regii fuisse videntur, sicut in Aegypto Ptolemaeorum fuerunt,' while Woodward suggests that 'the word κυνηγός came to be used in a technical sense meaning a messenger', but cannot decide 'whether they belonged to the royal *entourage* or not.' Whoever these two κυνηγοί were, Woodward's suggestion that ἐντυχόντων might be used 'of an accidental encounter whilst hunting' has little to support it. Ἐντυγχάνειν here is, in fact, a 'terminus technicus' (Schoch, *P–W*, *suppl.*, iv, 711, 3a). *Cf.* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, no. 11, l. 2 with the comment. It is neither necessary to assume that these κυνηγοί were officials of the Macedonian Court (κυνηγοὶ βασιλικοί, Polybius xxxi, 29, 5), nor, with A. J. Reinach, *Rev. Épigr.*, ii, 1914, 110, to identify them with the priests of Heracles. It is possible that they were, as Roussel suggests, members of an association of hunters, whose sanctuary, dedicated to their patron god, Heracles, an ancient St. Hubert, had recently been deprived of its funds for secular purposes by the municipal authorities of Beroea. On the other hand, the κυνηγοί of Heracles need not have been hunters, any more than the βουκόλοι of Dionysus were herdsmen. In connection with this use of κυνηγός we may note a religious use of κυνηγέται in *SIG*³, 1040, ll. 9–10. See further below.

Χάρτας. Russu, *op. cit.*, p. 221, thinks this name is probably Macedonian.

Νικάνωρ. For the frequent use of this name in Macedonia *cf.* Russu, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–5.

Ἀττύλος. (Russu, Ἄττυλος). *Cf.* Russu, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Schoch, *P–W*, *suppl.*, iv, 57, suggests that he is 'möglicherweise Bruder des Chartas,' a view repeated in *P–W*, *Suppl.*, iv, 215.

First Letter. L. 4. Ἄρπαλος. Woodward thinks it 'not impossible that he was the grandfather of Ἄρπαλος Πολεμαίου of Beroea.' *Cf.* Russu, *op. cit.*, p. 173, no. 4, 'figlio di Polemaios, di Beroia, messo (princeps legationis) di Perseo a Roma, Liv. xlii, 14, 3; Diod. xxix, 33, 2; App. *Maced.* 11, 3; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 15; *Syll.*³ 636, 5.'

Second Letter. The second letter does not contain the formula, οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, common to the other two, and it is not sufficiently preserved to enable us to restore with confidence, but the mention of φιάλαι in l. 13 recalls Woodward, *op. cit.*, 184, no. 31: Θευδᾶς

Νεικά . . . ις (Νεικά[νορ]ος ?) | ἀπελεύθερος Ἡρα|κλεῖ φιαλί[σκ]ον, where he cites Demitsas, Ἡ Μακεδονία, Athens, 1896, 174, no. 207; *i.e.*, Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, 217 and 483, no. 44: [Ἔτους - μηνὸς | Ὑ]περβερταί | [ο]υ Βάσσος Ἀν|[τ]ιπάτρου ἐ||[λ]ευθερωθεὶς | ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρο[υ | τ]οῦ Ἀλεξάνδρο[υ | Ἡ]ρακλεῖ κυνά|δᾳ.

In this connection Baege, 'De Macedonum Sacris,' *Diss. Phil. Hal.*, xxii, 1, 1913, 192, mistakenly refers to a gloss in Hesychius: κυνάδης· ἀπελεύθερος. Roussel, *REG*, xxvii, 455, rightly restores κυνα[γί]δᾳ. For another Macedonian dedication to Heracles Kynagidas, cf. *SEG*, I, 267, a dedication at Kozani from Moranli, noted by Arvanitopoullos, Πρακτικὰ Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ., 1912, 240, published by Keramopoullos, Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος, 1922, 307 and re-edited by Keramopoullos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1930, 181; cf. also Ch. I. Makaronas, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1936 Ἀρχ. Χρον. 5f. Kern, *BPW*, xxxv, 55 and Gruppe, *P–W, Suppl.*, iii, 955, *s.v.* 'Herakles', make the mistake of thinking that κυναγίδαι is the name of the family who made the dedication, and in this error they are followed by Hiller, *SIG*³, 459. An interesting dedication to Ἡρακλῆς Κουναγίδας is published by Kazarow in *BCH*, xlvii, 291 from Tsepigovo. It is described as an 'autel en marbre . . .; sur la plinthe supérieure, deux acrotères (?); au milieu, *une phiale* à omphalos (?).' The latest dedication to Heracles Kynagidas from Macedonia, found by Mr. Edson and myself, is published by Mr. Edson in *Harv. St.* li, 125–6.

Are we justified in suggesting that the temple of Heracles in our Beroea inscription may have been a private shrine dedicated to Heracles Kynagidas by an association of κυνηγοί (like the σύνοδος τῶν κυνηγῶν of Haliartus, *IG*, vii, 2850) where ἀπελεύθεροι were wont to dedicate φιάλαι during or after manumission? *Cf.* Calderini, *La Manomissione e la Condizione dei Liberti in Grecia*, Milan, 1908, 424 ff., and Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 234 f.

Ll. 9–10. It is tempting to read here [ο]ἱ [ἀπη]λ[ευθερω]|μένοι. At the end of l. 10 we should then expect the aorist participle of some verb of dedication, *e.g.* θ[έντ]ες, with a mention of the φιάλαι dedicated. It is just possible, however, though unlikely, that ΜΕΝΟΙ represents the particle μὲν and the article οἱ.

L. 11. ἐπεὶ [δὲ - - -] will begin a new sentence and will give the reason for the command in ll. 12–13 ἀνατιθέτωσαν [ἀντὶ] τῶν φιαλῶν. The argument seems to be that previously the dedications were φιάλαι, but that now, in view of the superfluity of these, dedicators must in future substitute some other kind of offering or offerings specified in l. 13. We might restore in ll. 11–12 ἐπεὶ [δὲ φιαλῶν] πε[ριο]υσ[ία ἔστιν εἰς τὴν | χ]ρείαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, but Woodward's [λατ]ρείαν is also possible.

L. 13. [σκύ]φους seems probable. In that case we might have either another form of dedication mentioned as well as σκύφοι or else an adjective to agree with σκύφους, such as ἱερατικούς or Ἡρακλείους (*cf.* Athen., xi, 500a), though neither of these fits the traces. The letters after φιαλῶν may represent ἱερὰ τά, and κέρατα is not out of the question.

Third Letter. The third letter seems to have in view a further concession to the priests of Heracles in addition to the restitution of their funds ordered in the first letter. The restoration offered in l. 15 seems in keeping with the general trend of the other two letters.

L. 16. For the connection of Heracles with Asclepius *cf.* von Prott and Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, ii, no. 21.

J. M. R. Cormack.

EARLY ATTIC VOTIVE MONUMENTS

WITH PLATES 7–13.[1]

In *Ö. Jh.* XXXI *Beibl.* 21 ff., I published my attempts to put together a number of early Attic votive pedestals, bases, columns, and capitals. I now follow this up by a publication of some Attic archaic monuments which I have similarly connected with their pedestals. Mr. G. M. Young was kind enough to translate into English the first draft of this paper, which was originally written in German.

I have excluded from this article the monument to which the Nike, Acropolis no. 690, belonged, as this seemed to me to deserve separate treatment (*AJA* XLIV). I have also excluded a further series of pedestals, which I have assembled but have not been able to connect with any sculptural fragments. I published these elsewhere in the course of a more general treatise on the technique and form of early Attic statue bases (*Bull. Bulg.* XII). The references to the sculptural fragments are given here as published in the first and second sections of Schrader *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*; Langlotz *Die Koren*; and Schuchhardt *Rundwerke ausser den Koren.*

I desire to express my thanks to Messrs. Oikonomos, Marinatos, Kourouniotis, and Kyparissis, of the Greek Archaeological Department, for the help that they have given me, and for permission to publish illustrations of certain pieces not hitherto illustrated. I dedicate this article to the memory of Humfry Payne.

I. The Dedication of Alkimachos.

The Ionic column which I put together from the two fragments (*IG* I² 548 and 663; *Ö. Jh.* XXXI *Beibl.* 44 ff.) bears a dedicatory inscription by Alkimachos, son of Chairion. I have identified Chairion with a treasurer of this name, the son of Kleidikos, a dedication by whom is extant on a large poros altar (Kirchner, *Imagines* 4), and with Chairion the Athenian Eupatrid, whose tombstone has been found at Eretria (*IG* XII 9, 296; Roehl³ 75 no. 2). From these sources, the nature of the present dedication becomes clear. Alkimachos, the Eupatrid, made an offering to the goddess Athena, in honour of his father, the treasurer Chairion, who by that time was dead. It is evident from the plinth socket on the upper face of the Ionic capital that the statue which stood upon it had an oblong plinth; and the position of the inscription on the column indicates that the statue faced towards the flank of the capital. These two circumstances suggested that the dedication of Alkimachos was a seated figure, and therefore very probably one of the so-called 'scribes' which are preserved among the sculpture of the Acropolis. The statues of this group (Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* 207 ff. nos. 309–11) have been thought for some time past to be treasurers, and this encouraged the conjecture that the statue dedicated by Alkimachos, who was a treasurer's son, might be one of them (Lippold, *Gr. Portraitstatuen* 9 ff.). In point of fact, one of these statues (no. 629 Payne pl. 118, 3–5; Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* pl. 132) not only has the requisite dimensions, but is of the same coarse-grained flaky grey marble as the capital and column (figs. 1–3). Moreover, a separate fragment (Acropolis no. 3541), preserved with the base of the right hind leg of the chair, shows that the plinth itself was shallow and rectangular. The attribution therefore seems certain.

[1] Some of the illustrations to this paper were unfortunately mislaid until the text was in page-proof. This accounts for their anomalous position on pp. 32, 36, 37.

In my previously cited restoration of the pedestal I sought on historical grounds to place the date of the inscription before the end of the Tyranny. The form and decoration of the Ionic capital may also suggest a date between 520 and 510. If this is correct, this monument gives us incidentally a fixed point in the chronology of early Ionic capitals. An exact date has not yet been proposed for the statue itself, but I think that it belongs likewise to the penultimate decade of the sixth century. This date also has been proposed by Schuchhardt. For comparison one naturally turns first to the Theseus torso from the Acropolis (no. 145: Payne pls. 105–6; Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* pls. 155–7), which is of the same period. The modelling of the figure and treatment of the surface are very similar, and the slim proportions of the two statues also correspond. An even better parallel is furnished by one of the reliefs in the 'Ball-players' statue base (*JHS* XLII pl. 6), which it seems preferable to place in the neighbourhood of 510, and not (as Schrader) two decades later. Besides the striking resemblance in the pose of the figure, and in the shape of the chairs, the treatment of the drapery is similar.

The total height of the monument must have been approximately 2·5 metres (fig. 4),[1] and the capital therefore stood at about eye-level. The other two small statues of 'scribes' (and there are fragments of a chair and cushion which seem to belong to a fourth; cf. Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* 333 no. 455) may also very well have been dedicated by treasurers or their sons, but they look like later imitations of the dedication of Alkimachos. Their resemblance in style and subject leads one to conjecture that this isolated group may have been the product of one studio, but they certainly did not all come from the same hand. The dedication of Alkimachos must be regarded as the masterpiece, and the model for the rest.

II. An Ionic Kore by Gorgias.

The fragment of an Ionic capital, Acropolis no. 3850, represents, as I have shown in another connexion (*Bull. Bulg.* XII), a slightly older type of design and ornament than the Ionic capital of the dedication of Alkimachos. The relatively tall abacus, the half-globe echinus, and the two concentric rings which form the heart of the volute, are distinctive features of this older type. The upper surface of this fragment is roughly dressed, except for a smooth outer edge, and contains what is left of an elliptical socket. Into this ellipse the back portion of a plinth with the feet of a *kore* (no. 475: Langlotz, *Koren* 54 pl. 114) fits exactly, while the height of the plinth and the depth of the socket are also identical. The stone used in the two fragments is the same, and the surface treatment similar. The final proof that these fragments belong to one another comes from the break, which runs continuously from one side of the capital, through the toes of the right foot and the ankle of the left, to the other side. Its course is clearly traced from above (fig. 5) and even more clearly from the left side (fig. 6). The main break in the plinth must therefore have occurred simultaneously with the break in the capital.

The statue, capital, and column formed one unit, all three parts being joined together by a single massive lead soldering. This is partly an exception to the general rule. Normally the capital and column are first joined together by a filling which runs through a channel descending from the centre of the socket, through the capital, into the tenon of the column below, and the plinth is then placed in the socket and separately secured. This double process can be seen clearly in the dedication of Alkimachos, in which the soldering between capital and column is preserved, and one can still see the level to which the lead filling rose in the funnel-

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper and p. 37.

like cavity of the capital. The remaining space was left unfilled, in order to economise lead (fig. 1).

It was otherwise with the monument which we are now discussing. Here there was a single process, and we can see the hole in the plinth through which the lead filling could be poured into the cavity of the capital and column, after the plinth had been placed in the socket. That does not exclude, however, that the hole in the plinth was used by the sculptor for fastening the statue during his work.

Schrader suggested that the feet no. 475 may belong to the *kore* no. 611 (Payne pl. 60, 4–6; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 22), and this connexion seems certain (Langlotz, *Koren* 54 f. no. 11). We can now obtain an idea of the monument as a whole (fig. 7).[1] There can be no doubt that this *kore* is closely related to Ionic sculptures of ca. 520. One notices particularly the skirt grasped in front of the body, the sparse narrow ridges in the drapery folds, and the free treatment of the tresses on the shoulders, as in the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury, in the *kore* Acropolis no. 1360 (Payne pl. 45; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 41 and pp. 71–2), and in the Parian *kore* now in New York (Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors* fig. 274). It is significant also that the ends of the tresses on the breast were made separately and attached, as in the Parian *kore* from Delos, in the National Museum in Athens. These peculiarities, and the fact that the other statues which share them all date from the decade 530–520, shew that no. 611, and therefore the whole monument, must belong to that period. Consequently we have a fixed date for another Ionic capital of early Attic work, and can now attempt to assign definite decades to other capitals of this class. This has been dealt with in another connexion.

The discussion of this monument may be expanded by the tentative attribution of an inscribed column to the capital no. 3850. The top of the column with the inscription *IG* I² 489 fits very well into the cutting on the bottom of the capital. But not enough of this top is preserved to make this association probable. The retrograde inscription contains the dedication of Ameinias and the signature of Gorgias. That this artist was under Ionic influence can be argued from the bronze technique he used on other monuments which have his signature. The letter-forms of the inscription would agree with the date suggested for the *kore* no. 611. It is tempting to assume that we possess in this *kore* a sculpture made by Gorgias.

Lauffer restored the name of Gorgias in the artist-signature of Nauklas's dedication (*AM* LXII 100). The rectangular socket of this base may once have contained a marble group representing a man leading his horse, as I have already suggested (*Ö. Jh.* XXXI *Beibl.* 51). It is tempting to connect with this base one of the two marble groups of which fragments are preserved. And, indeed, the plinth of one fragment (Acropolis no. 571; Payne pl. 124,7; Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* 291–2 no. 416, fig. 337), fits very well into the socket preserved on the top of the fragment with the inscription *IG* I² 628. The other fragment of this group, no. 574 (Schuchhardt 291, fig. 336), can then be assigned to another part of the base with the inscription *IG* I² 521 (Lolling 93). It is far less likely that another fragment (Acropolis no. 499; Payne pl. 124, 2; Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* 199 no. 303, figs. 189–90), which belongs to a similar group, was once part of Nauklas's dedication.

Similarity in style connects the fragments nos. 571 and 574 with the feet of the *kore* no. 475, and the restored dimensions of the group to which these two fragments belong agree very well with the restored dimensions of the base. If our assumptions should be accepted, we should possess, in the dedications of Ameinias and Nauklas, sculptures by Gorgias. The date of the latter monument, however, determined from the letter-forms of the inscription, as well as from

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper and p. 37.

the style of the sculpture, must be somewhat later than that which I proposed for Ameinias's dedication.

One other feature of the monument dedicated by Ameinias is worthy of notice, the fact that it is the statue of a *kore*, set up on an Ionic capital and column. The earlier volute capitals, with their oblong shape, made it impossible to set up a statue facing the same way as the capital. This position, however, became the usual one for votive statues of the fifth century set up on Ionic capitals. But the *kore* which we are discussing faces towards the flank of the capital. There is a bronze candelabrum from Orchomenos in the National Museum at Athens (no. 13673) which has a *kouros* standing in the same position on an Ionic capital. Furthermore, the dedication of Alkimachos was set up in this position, and its inscription was also engraved from right to left. The sculpture which we are discussing conveys the impression that it belongs to the time when the practice of placing statues of human beings upon columns began. At first, the columns and capitals were Ionic. These had already been adapted, in the opening years of the sixth century, as pedestals for colossal figures of sphinxes. Towards the end of this century, but not before, a distinctive architectural type of round capital was specially created for dedications. From the relatively inorganic connexion between statue and pedestal in the earliest dedications, we may deduce that the imposition of statues on columns represents an attempt to equate the spectacular effect of smaller works of art with that of colossal sculptures; a conclusion which is supported by the fact that the decline in the size of statues in the sixth century precedes the appearance of high pedestals. This decline may be dated shortly before the middle of the sixth century, and is contemporary with the rise of the Ionic, and then of the Attic ' Little Master ' cups. The Lyons *kore* is one of the earliest examples of the reduced scale. This does not mean, of course, that there were no statues smaller than life-size before that date, and no colossal statues after it, but merely that the representative sculpture of the early sixth century is colossal, while the best art of the late sixth century expresses itself in statues under life-size. The scale of the colossal figures of the later sixth century, particularly the gigantic *korai*, does not harmonise with the modelling of the figure or of the details, but is, generally speaking, far too big. On the other hand, the earlier female statues retain the monumental style of colossal sculpture, even when their proportions are small.

III. The Kore of Lyson.

In one of the earliest publications of the pillar with the inscription *IG* I² 499, Borrmann included an illustration of part of the connected capital. This fragment, which had disappeared among the débris behind the Acropolis Museum, was recovered by Zuechner, associated by him with two other parts of the capital, and furnished with the inventory number Θ49. The capital was wrought separately, fitted onto a tenon on the top of the pillar, and secured from above, by soldering, through a channel which has its mouth in the rectangular socket on the upper side of the capital (fig. 8). The lead filling of the channel is still preserved. The socket exactly accommodates the plinth no. 464 (Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 106, 39 [misprinted 38]), on which are the feet of a *kore* (fig. 9). The plinth and socket are completely preserved, and suffice to establish the identification. But here again we have additional confirmation from the line of the break (fig. 10). As the statue was torn from its pedestal, the plinth and the capital, to which it was closely welded with lead, broke together. The line of the break, which runs through the plinth in front of the toes, is directly continued in the capital.

We can proceed even further with the completion of the monument, as the plinth and feet no. 464 belong to the *kore* no. 612 (Payne pl. 125, 9; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 106, 39 [misprinted 38]), as Schrader has already seen (Langlotz, *Koren* 85 no. 39). This identification cannot be

argued at length, but is clear when one examines the fragments together (fig. 11).[1] It is based upon uniformity of material, dimensions, and surface treatment. Moreover, the lower ends of the skirt, preserved above the left foot, correspond exactly to the mass of folds grasped in front of the left thigh. The course of these folds along the legs, and their almost flesh-like solidity, are very distinctive. The inscription differs somewhat in form from Attic inscriptions. Apart from its dialect and contents, it may be remarked that the shape of the *chi* did not become common in Attica before the beginning of the fifth century. The lines run from right to left, but this does not necessarily mean that the inscription is an early one (cf. Austin, *Stoichedon* 22 f.). The fact would be explained if the monument stood at the right of an approach, as an inscription running from right to left would then be easier to read: compare nos. 1 and 2, and Van Hook, *AJA* XXXVI 292. The wording also seemed to present some difficulty. It has been assumed hitherto that the complete distich contains the dedication, and the following hexameter the sculptor's inscription. It is true that Thebades (formed like Leukades, Eretriades, etc.) is an established Boeotian proper name, and actually occurs in Boeotian inscriptions, one of which Brunn believed to be a list of sculptors. But it has still to be considered whether Thebades, besides being a proper name, cannot also be used to signify the place of birth, in the same way as Thebaios. Further, the word χαρίεν at the end of the pentameter can only belong to τόδ' ἄγαλμα at the end of the second hexameter, so that in any case the dividing point between dedicator and sculptor must be shifted back to the middle of the pentameter. In no other way can the conjunction δέ be satisfactorily explained. But if we take Thebades to mean ' of Thebes ' and to refer to Lyson, we can interpret the three verses as the combined dedication and sculptor's signature of the Theban Lyson, son of [K]ύ[ρ]νος. We may even consider the possibility of identifying Lyson with the artist of the same name who worked, possibly at the same time, in Athens (cf. Lippold in *RE* under ' Lyson '). But whatever be the verdict on these conjectures, the statue which stood upon the pillar can be regarded as the work of a Boeotian sculptor.

Before considering the style of the sculpture in further detail, I shall endeavour to obtain a date from the inscription itself. Although the lettering does not lead us to an exact chronological classification, it resembles that of the Hekatompedon inscription (Kirchner, *Imag.* 19) in several respects, and is at the same time not far distant from that of the dedication of Nearchos (Kirchner, *Imag.* 10). Within the rather long interval delimited by these two inscriptions, the Lyson inscription is most closely related to the dedication of Smikros, which contains the signature of Euthykles (*IG* I² 497 and 649; both now illustrated in *JHS* LX 53). This inscription was engraved by the same hand as the Hekatompedon inscription and the Marathon epigram (Kirchner, *Imag.* 18), but it cannot be dated more accurately than about 500. There is, moreover, the inscription from the altar dedicated by Peisistratos, son of Hippias (Kirchner, *Imag.* 11), which has now been assigned to the year 497 (Meritt, *Hesperia* VIII 62 ff. and 164). This inscription looks definitely later than that of Lyson. All this evidence may lead to the conclusion that the inscription on Lyson's dedication cannot be much earlier than the last decade of the sixth century. The nearest parallel to the pillar monument is the funeral monument of Pleistias found in Eretria, which also belongs to the last decade of the sixth century (Volkmann, *Klio* XXXI 244 ff.).

Our inscription thus leads to the conjecture that Lyson's dedication belongs to the decade 510–500, and is the work of a Boeotian artist. The style of the sculpture points to the same conclusions. It is precisely in Boeotia that we find female statues on rectangular plinths (*Bull. Bulg.* XII). The Boeotian sculpture of this period has been studied as a group by Grace and

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper and p. 37.

Lullies; and to these studies may be added the observations made by Wedeking, in another connexion, on Eretrian and Euboean sculpture as a whole (*AM* LX–LXI 216). He calls it 'local art derived from Ionic island models.' This description fits the *kore* no. 612, which belongs to the same group as no. 675 (Payne pl. 49, 3–5 and pl. 50, 1–3; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 60–1 and p. 91 f. no. 43) and the Nike no. 693 (Payne pl. 50, 4 and pl. 120, 3–4; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 88 and p. 118 no. 68). The connexion between the two *korai* is so close that one is tempted to conjecture that 612 is modelled on 675, or else that both are versions of another more important work, as Payne has suggested. Though the Nike belongs to the same group, it is clear that while 693 and 675 are definitely Ionic, 612 contains a pronounced mainland element. This is most conspicuous in the thick fleshy folds of the drapery, which are in marked contrast to the folds on the two Ionic statues, although the scheme of the drapery is almost identical in all three. The same observation applies to the knotty modelling of the feet, which is not found in Ionic work. In general, the *kore* of Lyson may be described as thickset in comparison with these elegant Ionic sculptures, though on about the same scale. Langlotz dated the Nike c. 530, while he assigned the *kore* no. 675 to the end of the sixth century. Payne did not give a definite date for either of them: his discussion, however, suggests the period 525–510 as the date for both of them. And our *kore*, which is influenced by them, or by similar statues, may be assigned to the following decade.

The pillar stood on a rectangular block, as did the pillar of Pleistias. The combined monument reached the remarkable height of 2·5 metres. Thus a statue only half as large as life, and a relatively modest pedestal, together formed a monument of considerable size: compare the monument of Pythis (figs. 12, 13).

IV. The Athena of Pythis.

The largest and one of the few completely preserved columns belonging to early Attic votives bears the artist's signature of Pythis (*IG* I² 507). The column ends in a low, very wide tenon, which is worked quite smooth on the top, and contains a deep circular hole in the centre. The capital, Acropolis no. 136, which still contains on its upper side the plinth and feet of a female statue (Payne pl. 44; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 111 and p. 176 ff. no. 271), fits exactly over this tenon (fig. 12) by means of a broad shallow cutting, of corresponding dimensions, on its under side. It is also significant that in the centre of this cutting, and therefore opposite the round hole in the tenon, there is a square hole of similar depth. But as neither of these holes is fed by a channel, we must assume that there was a connecting pin of wood or stone, which filled the two holes, and that the pieces were not soldered together with lead. Heberdey's note-books, which are in my possession, shew that he had discovered the traces of a lead soldering, which ran in a circular groove between the upper edge of the column and the lowest moulding of the capital which fitted over it. One cannot say with certainty how the lead was poured in, but there may have been a hole for that purpose somewhere in the missing part of this moulding. The absence of any connecting channel between the plinth socket and the square hole on the under side of the capital is all the more remarkable, since a vertical boring can be seen in the plinth between the feet of the statue. It would have been possible by means of this boring to pour the lead filling through the plinth, so as to join the capital and column together *after* the statue was in position (cf. remarks on the plinth in section II above). We might possibly assume that the whole monument was sent to Athens to be put together there, but that the Athenian mason did not consider it necessary to cut the channel through the capital.

Payne has shown that another fragment of the draped legs of a female is part of the same

statue (no. 453; Payne pl. 43, 3–4; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 110 no. 162; unnecessary doubts were expressed by Langlotz, *Koren* 151 no. 162). His exquisite description of the two fragments (28 f.) confirms the value of the present discovery, for we can now reconstruct the statue to some extent, and we also know the sculptor's name. The dedication and the sculptor's signature are apparently by different hands (fig. 14), but they are in any case contemporary. On the strength of the different hands (which were doubted by Lauffer, *AM* LXII 109), Loewy has conjectured that the statue was by a non-Athenian sculptor (*Sb. Akad. Wien* 216/4, 10 f.). His argument is misleading, since such a difference in itself indicates only that the artist himself signed the monument. But we may legitimately infer a foreign sculptor, if his signature shows letter-forms different from those of the dedication. This is the case here with one letter, *theta*, which at that time in Attica was still formed almost universally with a cross (⊕ as in the dedication). But the sculptor's name and style are far clearer indications of his Ionian origin than the inscription. Payne has already assigned this work to its proper category, and the evidence provided by the column, inscription, and capital merely endorses his verdict.

There are two holes drilled into the plinth in front of the right foot, one of them deeper than the other. In all probability the deeper one served to contain the butt-end of a spear which was grasped by the right hand of the statue. The shallower boring suggests that another position for the spear was first attempted and given up. If the figure to which the feet and legs belonged bore a spear—and there is nothing in the surviving fragments to indicate that it did not—the dedication of Epiteles may have been a statue of Athena, holding her spear in her right hand and the folds of her skirt in her left. Langlotz has already referred to this interpretation. In vase-paintings of this period Athena very rarely has a shield (fig. 42). The Athena, Acropolis no. 140, also has no shield (figs. 41,[1] 43). And a comparison of the two statues gives us the clue to the motive of the left hand drawn into and resting against the body. It is a survival of the earlier motive of the left hand holding up the loose folds of the skirt, transformed in this way by a great artist. The archaic open spaces between the left arm and the body are thus filled in, leaving a single contour which flows uninterruptedly from shoulder to foot. Of this more later.

The dedication of Epiteles is not the only remnant of a monument from the hand of Pythis. We possess two other sculptural fragments, and another base which bears the signature of this master (*IG* I² 506; cf. Lauffer, *AM* LXII 109). We have in this fragment a dedication by one or more sons of the Epiteles of the inscription on the column. And, indeed, the inscription on the base seems distinctly the later of the two.

Whether the two sculptural fragments just mentioned belong to the same monument as the base, one cannot say: one of them was found on the Nike bastion in 1923; it is not known where the other, no. 3521, was found (Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 112 below, and p. 142 no. 128). They belong to one statue, for, although they do not actually join, they have each a facet from a common broken surface. The fragments consist of the left knee and right thigh of a draped female statue.

The total height of Epiteles's dedication was about 3·5 metres (figs. 12 and 13), and the exquisitely modelled feet may have never been visible. I wish to add, however, a suggestion made by Young, that the exceptional height may be explained by supposing that the monument stood on a lower level than the pathway which it flanked.

The form of the capital calls for further comment. It is in fact one of the earliest round capitals belonging to votive monuments (cf. Shoe, *Profiles* 57, pl. XXVI 4). This type is unknown in important architecture. The profile resembles that of the central part of an Ionic

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper and p. 37.

capital without the volutes. And this it may be. It is also possible that this central part by itself served as a capital in earlier times, *e.g.*, in Samos.

It is difficult to assign an exact date to this work of Pythis. Payne seems to have inclined towards the last decade but one of the sixth century. I would place it a little later, but Langlotz's date of 500–490 is certainly too late.

The material seems to be difficult to determine. The column and capital are certainly of island marble, while the material of the statue was called by Payne Pentelic (with a query), but by Langlotz Parian.

V. The Dedication of Lysias.

The inscription published as *IG* I² 620 is engraved on one of the longer vertical sides of an oblong pillar capital. It consists of two dedicatory inscriptions, verbally independent of each other, but carved continuously by the same mason at one and the same time (fig. 15[1]; Lauffer, *AM* LXII 89). The first tells us of a dedication of first-fruits by Lysias; the second, of a dedication of a tithe by Euarchis. Euarchis may be a female name (it is given as such by Bechtel), but this form is also possible as a man's name, and would here be a shorter form for Euarchides. The two inscriptions on the front of the capital are matched by two almost circular sockets in the upper surface. One of these is quite small and shallow, the other larger and deeper. The inscriptions show that there was still a clear distinction at that time between first-fruits and a tithe. First-fruits were set out of an inheritance or a gift on a large scale (*e.g.*, by entering a business), while tithes were usually offered from captured possessions or from annual profits. It seems reasonable to suppose that tithes were dedicated from an amount which actually could be divided in ten parts. We may conjecture that first-fruits were generally less than one-tenth, but we cannot say in this instance that Lysias's first-fruits were not greater than Euarchis's tithe. If this is a dedication by a man and his wife, it is remarkable that there should be no mention of the relationship in the inscription. It seems much more probable that we have here a dedication by two men who were, for one reason or another, in friendly association. The letter-forms of the inscription suggest as date the last decade of the sixth century, and the style of writing resembles that of the inscription *IG* I² 573, on a base which presumably bore the statue of a horseman (Acropolis no. 700, Payne pls. 137–8 and pl. 139, 1; Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* pls. 140–1 and 149–50 no. 314). The shape of the pillar, with its deep concave sides, resembles that of the pillar with the inscription *IG* I² 674, which also dates from the last decade of the sixth century.

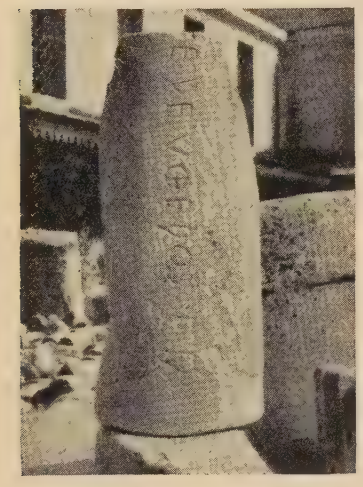

Fig. 19.

The plinth of the *kore* no. 683 (Payne pl. 59, 1–3; Langlotz pls. 17–19 no. 9) fits the larger of the two sockets in the capital (fig. 16).[1] The identification is confirmed by a piece of the lead filling which is still preserved, and is shaped both to the wall of the socket and to the plinth. The lead filling has a feature that distinguishes it from the normal type. There are three shallow rectangular cuttings on the edge of the plinth surface. The lead, when poured in, flowed into these cuttings and thus formed three clamps on the plinth. One of these clamps is preserved on the lead filling, and fits into a cutting on the edge of the plinth (fig. 16, p. 36).

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper; fig. 15 is on p. 37; fig. 16 on p. 36.

The *kore*, which was hitherto difficult to place (Langlotz, *Koren* 52 f. no. 9), may now be dated, in view of what has been said, at the end of the sixth century. Notice the similarity between the *kore* and the statue of Athena in the west pediment of the temple in Aegina Karousos attributes it to Sikyon, and Peloponnesian influence is undoubtedly recognisable. The modelling of the features points already to the severe style. The complete monument with its two *korai* on a common base must have had a curious effect. The fact that the preserved statue has the right foot advanced shows that the artist tried to make a group of these separated figures. The height of the smaller *kore* (if there was a *kore* set in the other socket), which stood on the left from the spectator's point of view, can only have reached the waist of the larger. Unfortunately none of the existing *korai* will fit into the unoccupied socket, nor is there any that could be assigned to our monument on the ground of affinity of style with no. 683.

VI. The Kore of Eleutheros.

The capital with the dedicatory inscription of Simon the fuller (*IG* I² 642 : fig. 17) consists of two fragments, and has on its upper side a socket for the plinth of a marble statue. In the fragment Acropolis no. 429 (Langlotz no. 278) we appear to have the remains of the plinth, together with half the left foot and the tip of the right foot of the statue. The height of the plinth corresponds exactly to the depth of the socket, and the view from above (fig. 18) confirms the identification. The surface treatment of the plinth and of the upper side of the capital is the same, while the shape of the socket corresponds to the attitude of the feet, so far as can be judged from the plinth fragment. The contour of the left foot, carried back from the preserved part along the outer curve of the socket, would end just so far from the back of the latter as to leave room for a narrow border of drapery behind the foot. The right foot lies somewhat further back than the left, at an oblique angle to it. Its position is similarly determined by the remains of the big toe and the sole of the sandal, and by the edge of the socket, the contour of which goes further back on the side of the right foot than on the other. It is noteworthy that the break which runs through the capital and, as we shall see, through the shaft also, is not continued in the plinth of the statue. On the other hand, the position of the feet is corroborated by the fact that when the plinth fragment is fitted into the socket, the centre of the inscription comes under the front of the feet.

We have, I believe, part of the column which bore this capital, in the fragment with the inscription *IG* I² 491, which contains the signature of Eleutheros (fig. 19, p. 24). I will set forth briefly the arguments in support of this identification. The fragment has been split off from an unfluted column, and is so narrow at its upper end that one cannot exactly determine the diameter of the column at this point. It is, however, about the same as that of the lower part of the capital. There was a deep circular hole in the upper face of the shaft, with its circumference about 6 cm. distant from the outer edge of the column. On the under side of the capital there is a circular cutting at the same distance from its outer edge. As far as proportions and technical finish go, the two pieces may very well belong to one another. Further, the capital itself is split into two fragments, to one of which the shaft fragment corresponds. Not only is the break continuous, but the inscription on the column falls approximately under the left foot, *i.e.*, to the front of the statue. There is also a great similarity between the two inscriptions. Both are cut into a roughly dressed surface. In both the size of the letters and the course of the lines are very irregular. The name of the dedicator, Simon, is followed by a division mark of three dots vertically arranged. The same mark appears after the name of the sculptor

Eleutheros, a feature rare in artist-signatures. There are striking resemblances also in the formation of individual letters, though the inscriptions have no very strongly distinguishing letter in common. Notice, however, the narrow un-angular *sigma*, the wide-angled *upsilon*, the irregular and relatively small *omikron*, and the tail-less *epsilon* with divergent cross-strokes.

As is often the case, the artist-signature is not nearly so deep-cut as the dedicatory inscription. The second line of the latter, containing as it does the dedicator's profession only, may have been inserted after the third line was already engraved.

In spite of having assembled these separate fragments, we still have only a small portion of the whole monument. On the strength of the lettering of the inscription I would propose a date round about 500 B.C. The forms of the letters *epsilon*, *mu*, *nu*, and *upsilon* indicate this period, and those of the letters *sigma*, *alpha*, *delta*, and *rho* preclude a much later date. The outline of the capital (Shoe, *Profiles* 92 f. pl. XL 10), with its unique combination of *cyma recta* and *cyma reversa*, may point to a date even prior to 500. The fragment of the statue (Langlotz, *Koren* 179 no. 278), while very like the remains of the foot of the Peplos *kore*, and of the same marble, seems clearly later, and may be compared, further, with the feet of the dedication of Epiteles.

Nor does the dedicator's calling help us to establish an exact date. Not only was it already the practice, before the close of the Tyranny, for artisans in general to set up dedications, but the two other existing dedications by fullers (*IG* I² 436 and 751) are both certainly earlier than 510 B.C.

We do not know anything about the artist Eleutheros, whose name may very well be Attic. The style of the small preserved fragment of the sculpture is too indefinite to encourage the expression of any opinion as to its quality or place of origin.

VII. Fragments of Four Monuments.

Of the following four monuments there is either so little preserved, or so little to say, that I propose to deal with them together in one section.

1. The capital with the inscription *IG* I² 689 is in a very bad state of preservation. The under side has clearly been worked over again, and the greater part of the edge on which the inscription was engraved has been split off. I have been able to find a small fragment which joins (fig. 20; *Ö. Jh.* XXXI, *Beibl.* 56 no. xxvi: the reading there has to be changed to ἀπ⟨α⟩ρχέν). Enough, however, remains of the lower edge of the plinth socket to enable us to place in it, with certainty, a severely damaged fragment of a plinth (Acropolis no. 4843; Langlotz no. 286) with the traces of the feet of a *kore* (fig. 21). The identification depends principally on the correspondence of the outlines of the plinth and socket, and, in addition, on the fact that a break in the forepart of the left foot of the statue is continued in the capital. It is to be observed that the rejoined fragment of the inscription fits on to this break lower down, and must therefore have split off when the statue was smashed. The capital has the outline of a *cyma recta*, and the Doric conception is proved by the decoration, which consists of upward-pointing, tongue-shaped leaves, corresponding to those of the *cyma recta*. Thus it fits very well into Shoe's group of early examples of the *cyma recta* (*Profiles* 91 f.; add here also the capital with the inscription *IG* I² 643).

The inscription is in somewhat earlier characters than the dedication of Simon, and enables us to date the monument in the last decade of the sixth century. The plinth of the statue is astonishingly high (Langlotz, *Koren* 181 no. 286), and projects considerably above the upper surface of the capital. Further, the upper surface of the plinth is not horizontal, but

slopes forwards and downwards. The toes are situated more or less above the middle of the inscription, and one feels that the object of the high plinth, with its upper surface sloping towards the spectator, was to display the feet, and at the time convey the suggestion that the statue was descending from its pedestal.

2. The capital with the inscription *IG* I² 543 has, in its upper face, a circular socket into which a plinth fragment (Acropolis no. 456; Langlotz, *Koren* pl. 113 no. 247), with the remains of the feet of a *kore*, seems to fit (figs. 22 and 23). The circumstance that circular plinth sockets are rare in the late archaic period, and that these feet stand on a circular plinth, was the only clue to the identification. Langlotz, however, dates the fragment no. 456 in the middle of the sixth century (*Koren* 169 f. no. 247). It is difficult to determine the exact position of the plinth fragment in the socket. I conjecture that the toes were immediately above the dedicator's name in the inscription. Both the style of the sculpture and the characters of the inscription point to the end of the sixth century, and the profile of the capital (in this instance a Doric hawks-beak) belongs to the same period (Shoe, *Profiles* 103 pl. LI, 16). The decoration is once more the leaf-stalk, this time pointing downwards.

In this dedication of Aischines, the capital and column are secured together in an interesting way. There is no channel in the base of the socket for pouring in the lead. The broken under-surface of the capital contains a hole, four centimetres in diameter, connected with the outer face of the lower part of the capital by a channel one centimetre wide. A hole only four centimetres wide could scarcely have contained a tenon of the column. It is far more probable that there was a similar hole in the upper surface of the column, and that the two holes contained a special stone bolt which was soldered in by means of the channel. In the capital with the inscription *IG* I² 643 the remains of a similar stone bolt are still to be seen, while the column bearing the artist-signature of Endoios (*IG* I² 492) has at its upper end the traces of a channel which may have served the same purpose.

3. The half-preserved pillar capital (Θ50) belongs to a later date than the monuments which we have discussed so far. A plinth fragment (Acropolis no. 419; Langlotz, *Koren* no. 253 pp. 171–2, fig. 159) fits into the socket of this capital (fig. 24). The lead filling which surrounds the plinth is preserved complete, and this made it a very easy matter to fit the two fragments together. The whole pedestal was cut from a single block of stone, and has a cavetto capital projecting considerably on all four sides (fig. 25). The corners of the shaft as well as of the abacus are broadly bevelled. The sides are of unequal width. The horizontal section of the pillar is not rectangular, but a trapezium with the narrower of the two sides in front. The fragment contains no part of an inscription. The shape of the pillar, and its surfaces, coarsely worked with a broad chisel, place the monument as late as the fifth century, while the style of the sculpture enables us to date it more precisely in the first decade of that century. The feet of the Euthydikos *kore* are later and finer, but the feet of the *kore* dedicated by Kiron, and made by Euenor, which I place at the end of the first decade, are very near in date to our statue (no. 254: Langlotz, *Koren* 172 no. 254 and p. 174 fig. 160: see below, p. 31). The treatment of the drapery, the position of the feet, the pronounced contraction of the contour above the ankles, and the somewhat knotty modelling of the toes, are all similar. I would accordingly date our statue round about 490 B.C. Observe the strong contrast between the fine chiselling of the sculpture, and the poor technique of the pillar—a contrast which, apart from what has been said already, is emphasised by the inferior quality of the Hymettian marble of which the pillar is made. A reddish vein in the neighbourhood of the right heel explains the break which took place, in antiquity, at this point.

The large number of plain pillars (and unfluted columns), almost all dating from the beginning of the fifth century, show us that the taste for artistically modelled pedestals in dedications lapsed at this period, and that the sculptor devoted himself more and more to the essential part of the votive offering. A similar manifestation of the new outlook occurs at the same time in vase-painting, where the ornamentation of the central figures begins to predominate, while that of the unessential parts of the vase is kept down.

4. The inscription *IG* I² 593 is engraved horizontally on a small smooth panel just below the upper edge of a column. The rest of the surface of the column is very roughly dressed. The upper end of the column contains an irregularly shaped socket, into which a plinth with the feet of a *kore* (Acropolis no. 425; Langlotz, *Koren* no. 275 pp. 177–8 and fig. 168) exactly fits (fig. 26). Bronze statuettes were not infrequently set upon columns without capitals, as were also bronze and clay vases. But in this monument we possess the only example of a marble statue similarly erected on a high cylindrical pedestal, without a capital. The material, an inferior stone, resembles that of the capital (no. 3) described above. The coarse dressing of the shaft reminds one of the column in the dedication of Kallimachos (Kirchner, *Imag.* 17), though our monument is certainly later, as is clear from the inscription as well as from the remains of the statue. The inscription (fig. 27), which represents part of the name of the sculptor or of the dedicator, cannot be restored, was at all events quite short, and consisted of a single name and the word ἐποίεσεν or ἀνέθεκεν. If it was the artist's signature, the dedicatory inscription probably ran vertically down the column. The letter-forms point to a date about 480 B.C., as do also the sharp edges of the strokes. A comparison of the feet with those of the Euthydikos *kore* provides further proof that our statue is later. The flat fore-part and the wide-spread toes are particularly striking (fig. 28). The modelling of the details is fine and almost too elaborate, the drapery folds are flat, the surface finished with a rasp. On all grounds this monument should be dated about 480 B.C., and it was probably not erected before that year.

Fig. 28.

A comparison of the dates we have proposed for this and the preceding fragments of sculpture with the dates given by Langlotz shows that Langlotz's dates are much earlier. I think, however, that the evidence from the inscriptions and from the architectural forms sufficiently supports the dates which I propose.

VIII. Euenor and Pheidias.

The majority of important works of art set up on the Acropolis in the first half of the fifth century were bronze statues, and the majority of the important artists of the generation that began to work in that period were workers in bronze.

The observations which Wace has devoted to this phenomenon in *An Approach to Greek Sculpture* are confirmed by evidence from the pedestals of the dedications on the Acropolis. Among the late archaic and early classical bases of the Acropolis, those which supported bronze statues are conspicuous both for number and size. If we glance at those bases only which bear

signatures of artists, we find the names of two sculptors in marble, Euenor and Euphron. Of these Euphron came from Paros (and made presumably only reliefs), and Euenor, as we shall see later (p. 35), from Ephesus. On the other hand, the bronze sculptors whose signatures we possess are the masters of *IG* I² 500 and 538, Apollodoros, Diopeithes, Euthymos, Hegias, Kallon, Kresilas, Kritios, Leobios, Lykios, Mikon, Onatas, and Strongylion. Of these Kallon, Kresilas, and Onatas are either Peloponnesians or under Peloponnesian influence; Hegias may also belong to this group; while Diopeithes, Kritios, Leobios, Lykios, and Mikon were all Athenians. There is not a single one from Ionia.

But although we know the names of so few marble sculptors of the early fifth century, we possess quite a number of excellent marble sculptures belonging to that period. I have already attempted to connect two of these with an individual sculptor, in conjecturing that the Nike, Acropolis no. 690 (Payne pl. 120, 1–2; Langlotz, *Koren* pls. 91–2 no. 77), and the *kore* of Euthydikos, Acropolis no. 686 (Payne pls. 84–8; Langlotz, *Koren* pls. 45–9 no. 37), are from the hand of one of the artists who inaugurated the severe style (*AJA* XLIV 55; cf. Hampe, *Antike* XV 168 ff.; Picard, *REG* LII 123 f.). I have also conjectured that the sculptor of the Nike and the Euthydikos *kore* was an Ionian from Eastern Greece. I will endeavour to establish the same origin for another sculptor in marble of that period, whose existence is known to us. This is Euenor. He may perhaps not be entitled to rank as one of the creators of the severe style, but his teaching or inspiration undoubtedly influenced one of the great artists of the next generation to an exceptional degree.

1. We possess three signatures of Euenor. These all belong to the fifth century, and not, as Robert held, to the middle of the sixth century (*RE* under ' Euenor '). The oldest of them (*IG* I² 496) is engraved on an unfluted column to which another fragment (Loll. 344; mentioned in *Ö. Jh.* XXXI *Beibl.* 23, no. III) can now be assigned (fig. 29). The column ends in a tenon, the lead cap of which is still preserved and enables us to join to it two fragments of its capital (Acropolis nos. 3751 and Θ241). Dedications from Euenor's studio exhibit a special system, which is unique, for uniting the capital and the column together. The column ends in a cylindrical tenon which fits into a corresponding hollow in the under side of the capital. The lead was poured in through a channel, the upper opening of which is in the floor of the plinth socket. The special feature consists of grooves which were cut in the sides of the hollow into which the tenon fitted, and which radiate from the lower opening of the channel in the capital. These grooves facilitated the flow of the molten lead at the time of joining, and afterwards prevented the capital from turning. In this instance the ridges of lead so formed are still preserved, and fit into the grooves cut in the capital; so we can determine the exact position of the fragments of the capital in relation to the column (fig. 30, p. 36). The statue was presumably a *kore*, but unfortunately none of the plinths that we possess seems to fit into the socket.

The inscription can be dated, by its characters, close to the year 500. The only decisive letter, the *rho* with oval loop and short tail, occurs already before 500, and the latest dated inscription containing it belongs to the year 489. It is difficult to complete the artist-signature, because there is no trace of the dedicator's inscription either on the column or on the capital, of which we possess almost one-half. We are therefore reduced to the conclusion that the dedicatory inscription was either on the missing lower part of the column (which is unlikely), or on its base. It may, however, have been united to the artist-signature in a way that would only be possible if the dedicator and sculptor were one and the same person (as in the inscription published as *IG* I² 540). In the latter case we would go on to conjecture that our monument was set up by Euenor as the first-fruits of his work in Athens, and, at the same time, by

way of advertising himself to those who visited the Acropolis. Unfortunately the fragment which bears the last letter of the inscription is too scanty for us to determine the exact diameter of the column at this point. The diameters are: at the top of the column, 18 cm.; at the bottom of the main fragment, 20 cm. The diameter of the fragment, Loll. 344, is, however, 22 cm. or more, and so it remains uncertain how long the inscription was, and how it should be completed.

The profile of the capital (fig. 31; Shoe, *Profiles* 19 pl. IX, 3) corresponds to that of the capital no. 3780. Its distinguishing feature is that its greatest diameter occurs at a point less than one-third of the way down, and that there is a sharp contraction below that point. The profile thus resembles that of late archaic amphorae. The observation of Langlotz (*Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* 18 f.) supports us in dating a profile of this character to the years around 500 B.C.

Fig. 33: cf. 33A, p. 37.

2. The second votive column which bears the signature of Euenor is better preserved (*IG* I² 494), and we have also a part of the statue which stood upon it. The column and capital have survived together, and have often been illustrated. The edge of the plinth socket has been broken all round, but its circumference is clearly discernible, and exactly fits round a plinth with the feet of a *kore* (Acropolis no. 497; Langlotz, *Koren* no. 254 p. 173, fig. 160). To these a fragment of the shins of a *kore* (Acropolis no. 318 and 344; Langlotz, *Koren* no. 156) can now be added (figs. 32–33). There is only a narrow strip missing between the two fragments, and the fact that they belong to one another is clear from their dimensions and from the marble. Moreover, the folds of drapery running down the left leg are continued round the feet. The surface of the statue was worked over with a rasp. Just behind the right shinbone there is a rough rasp-mark, the continuation of which can be seen in the lower fragment above the ankle.

The lettering of the inscription (fig. 34) differs slightly from that of the first of Euenor's signatures. The shapes of the *nu* and *epsilon* suggest that the monument belongs to the second decade of the fifth century, the shape of the *rho* supports a date early in this period; and this assumption, as we shall see, is confirmed by other evidence. The most striking thing about the inscription is its position. Instead of being in front, it is under the right heel of the statue (fig. 34). This peculiarity may have the same explanation as the fact that on certain votive pedestals (I am speaking only of those with vertical inscriptions on columns or pillars) we find left-handed inscriptions, although the monuments belong to a date when left-handed script was no longer in common use. Both circumstances are to be accounted for by the place in which the statue stood. It has often been said that monuments standing on the right of a pathway would have left-handed vertical inscriptions and *vice-versa*, so that the inscriptions would be more easily read by passers-by. And we may conjecture also that where *korai* were set up in the open, facing the statue of a deity, or an altar, the inscription on the pedestal

would be so arranged that the spectator could best read it as he approached the principal monument. Thus, in Kiron's dedication the statue would normally have had its back to the spectator, who would, however, have been able to read the dedicatory inscription and artist-signature from the pathway on which he stood.

A further peculiarity of this monument appears in the manner in which the plinth is secured. Normally, the sculptor was content to fill the space between the edge of the plinth and the circumference of the socket with molten lead. Here, however, we find, in addition, a shallow rectangular cutting on the plinth surface, immediately in front of the right foot (fig. 32). The socket is only 1 cm. deep, and the lead could not overflow into this cutting, as it did in the monument described in section V. We have to assume that a clamp was fitted into this cutting, securing in this way the stability of the statue.

Enough is preserved of the column and capital to show their exact relationship (fig. 35), and we can also observe the system of soldering, with its peculiar subsidiary rills. The space left between the tenon of the column and the enclosing hollow of the capital was so small, and the fitting of the two parts so close, that we can understand why it was necessary to cut these additional grooves for the reception of the molten lead. The profile of the capital (Shoe, *Profiles* 19 pl. IX, 1) is distinguishable from that of the older monument of Euenor by its diminished projection and tauter contour. Whether this difference represents a chronological development or not, I should not care to say. In any case a chronological development the other way is inconceivable. The decoration of the capital consists of a maeander pattern round the circular abacus, and a pendent scale pattern on the capital itself. The scales are coloured in alternate oblique rows, which gives a spiral effect. This scheme suits the second decade of the fifth century better than any other period.

The fragment of the statue that has come down to us (Langlotz, *Koren* 172 no. 254, and 173 fig. 160) is nearly related in style to the Euthydikos *kore*. The extremely close-clinging skirt (Langlotz, *Koren* 149 no. 156) and the rendering of the folds by narrow grooves, spaced widely apart, are features common to many *korai* of that period. In quality of work the *kore* dedicated by Euthydikos is far superior to the *kore* dedicated by Kiron. None the less, the general resemblance is so great that I would not place Euenor's *kore* much earlier than the Euthydikos *kore*. The *kore* which I have described in section VII, no. 3, above, belongs to the same period, and has similarly modelled feet (figs. 24 and 25). The indifferent quality of the work and its markedly conventional trend might lead to the conclusion that the statue was made in Euenor's studio, but not by himself. I shall discuss this matter later.

The artist-signature and the dedicatory inscription are by the same hand, and they are slightly different from the signature on the monument of Euenor which I have discussed under 1.

3. All the conjectures put forward so far can be brought to bear upon the interpretation of the third monument of Euenor. The column with the dedicatory inscription of Angelitos (*IG* I^2 495) is undoubtedly the latest in date of the three monuments from Euenor's workshop The capital belonging to this column can be identified (Acropolis nos. 3753 and Θ264). Into the socket of this capital the plinth of a statue of Athena fits (fig. 43; Acropolis no. 140; Langlotz, *Koren* 48 f. no. 5, pls. 9–11). The connexion of column and capital (fig. 36) is established by the uniformity of the scale and of the material. The statue, capital, and column are of the same coarse-grained, bluish marble, and show traces of identical rasp-work. In addition, the working of the under side of the capital includes the grooves which are distinctive of Euenor's workshop. The connexion between the statue and the capital is established by the fact that the plinth of the statue and the socket of the capital correspond to each other in depth and in outline (fig. 37, p. 32).

The dedicatory inscription (fig. 38) combines certain early features with letter-forms which cannot be earlier than about 480 (cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 6 note *). The *theta* with the cross and the *alpha* with oblique cross-stroke are conspicuously early features. On the other hand, the *epsilon* with its short horizontal cross-stroke does not occur before 480. There is another inscription, two fragments of which are preserved (Loll. 307), showing the same letter-forms

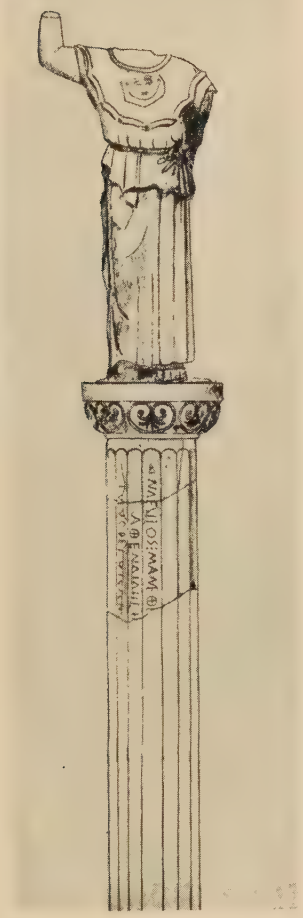

Fig. 41.—Dedication of Angelitos.

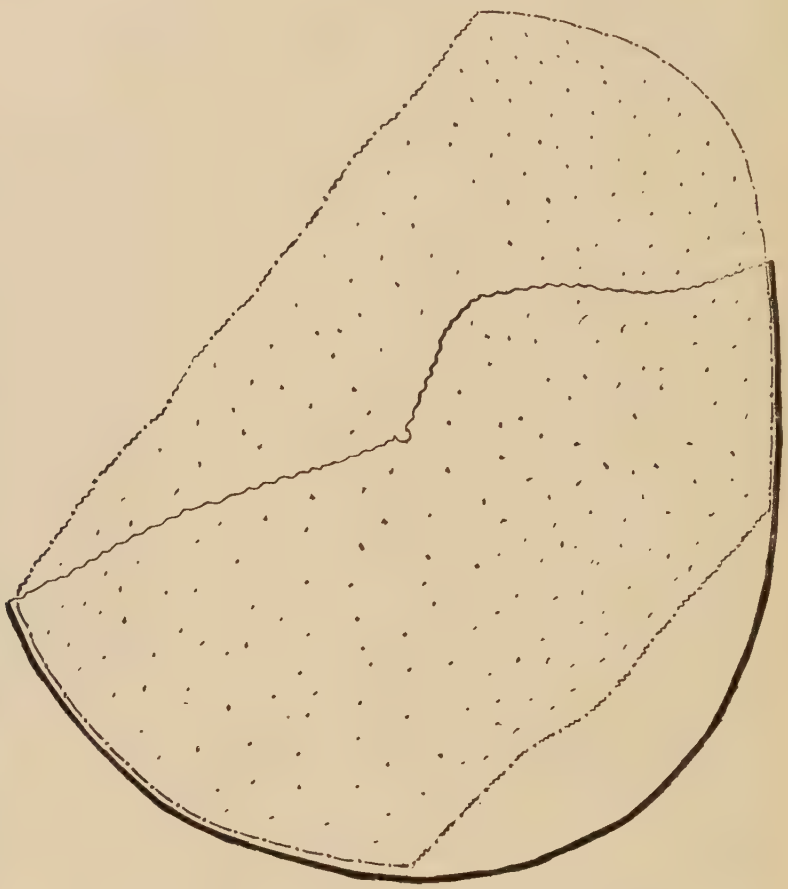

Fig. 37.—Dedication of Angelitos: from above.

The solid line shows the edge of the socket, the dotted line that of the plinth of the statue.

for *epsilon* and *theta*. These two fragments, as has been shown (*AJA* XLIV 109), belong to the base of the statue of Athena Promachos, and can be dated about 465 B.C. Compared with the dedicatory inscription, the artist's signature of *IG* I² 495 appears much older. It is presumably by the same hand as the artist-signatures of the two other monuments signed by Euenor. But it is none the less possible to detect a difference among the three which would be accounted for by the interval of time separating the three monuments. The *epsilon* on the two later inscriptions still has slightly oblique cross-strokes, but no tail-piece. The second angle of the *nu* is (with the exception of the first *nu* in the second line of *IG* I² 494) not yet brought

down to the bottom of the line, but the whole letter stands less erect on its first stroke than in the earlier inscription. The *rho* has lost its diacritical stroke in the signature of *IG* I² 495. This signature has an old-fashioned look, compared with the dedicatory inscription of the same column, as if an elderly master were trying to adapt himself to the times, but could not conceal, in the details of his technique, the older tradition to which he belonged. This description, however, cannot apply to the statue which the column supported.

The decoration of the capital, also, is early in type, although a comparison of the palmette of this capital with that of the capital of the dedication of Phrynos and Aristogeitos (Acropolis no. 3779, which belongs to the inscription *IG* I² 660 (figs. 39,[1] 39a [1])), shows that our capital is the later. In the capital belonging to the dedication of Angelitos, the centres of the volutes are much smaller, and the palmette itself reaches from top to bottom of the capital. In addition, the profiles help to determine the relative chronology (figs. 39, 40; Shoe, *Profiles* 19 pl. IX, 5). Miss Shoe has in fact placed this capital at the end of her chronological sequence. The early character of the signature and pedestal in comparison with the statue, which presents already something of the new order, need not surprise us. For in the statue, too, it is not the technique that gives it modernity. The artist's genius reveals itself in his composition, and in this very capacity to combine the ancient form with the modern idea.

Fig. 39.

The realisation that the Athena statue is in fact the dedication of Angelitos (fig. 41) came first as a surprise, and then led to an amplified study of this statue and of the personality of its sculptor. The statue of Athena has attracted much attention ever since its discovery, and is to be found in all treatises on the severe style. The dating for this statue that can now be established without dispute was proposed by Studniczka, and has been upheld at the present day by Schrader (Langlotz, *Koren* 48 f. no. 5) in spite of the opposition of Furtwängler, who has been followed by almost all archaeologists. In any case, it is clear to me, that having placed the Athena statue at the beginning of the severe style, we must carefully re-examine the chronology of the other monuments of this period (V. H. Poulsen, *Acta Arch.* VIII 1 ff.). The Athena statue was found together with the early classical head no. 499 (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces* 25 note 1), and with the torso of the boy of Kritios (Furtwängler, *AM* VI 20); compare Schrader, *Archaische Marmorbildwerke* 346 and fig. 405. There are several red-figured vases, which certainly belong to the second quarter of the fifth century, which have been held to represent this dedication of Angelitos (Richter, *Red-figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum* 98 ff. pl. 74 and 114, pl. 88; *CVA*, *BM* III Ic, pls. 46, 2a and 2b, and pl. 51, 3). From these we may conclude that the statue is not earlier than 480. The vase-paintings (*e.g.* fig. 42) also show the importance this Athena statue must have had, in its own day, an importance which we

[1] See footnote on first page of this paper: fig. 39a is on p. 36.

can readily understand. It is the earliest representation of the goddess in the severe style, and a forerunner of the Lemnian Athena and of the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. Of this, more later.

Among works of art of the severe style that can be dated with certainty we possess two white-ground cups of the period before 480, one of them from the Persian débris, and the other from the Agora (Talcott, *Hesperia* II 227 ff.). The Euthydikos *kore* and the boy of Kritios, belong to the time immediately before 480. The former is clearly a late work by a master who was one of the creators of the severe style; in the latter we have a masterpiece by a young artist who must have been a slightly elder contemporary of Pheidias. Our statue of Athena (fig. 43) resembles the boy of Kritios, particularly in the fine modelling of the base of the throat, which appears in the two pieces for the first time, so far as sculpture is concerned. In vase-painting we find it earlier, in the years immediately after 500. In comparison with these two statues, the throat and neck of the Euthydikos *kore* seem heavy and inarticulate. In the stance, also, there is a profound resemblance between the boy of Kritios and this Athena. In both statues, the leg which carries the weight is clearly distinguished from the other. Among the statues of later decades, down to the sculptures of the temple at Olympia, we have none that can be satisfactorily dated. Whoever follows Furtwängler and Buschor in placing our Athena statue in the fourth decade of the fifth century, makes it contemporary with the earlier sculptures of the temple at Olympia. Yet the dedication of Angelitos impresses one in all respects as earlier than the Olympian metopes which can be compared with it. Moreover, the differences in style between the various individual sculptures of the Olympian temple are to be explained, not merely by the long period covered by the sculptures themselves, but also by the fact that two generations of sculptors worked, together it may be, upon them. Those who hold that the 'Fair-haired boy' and the Apollo of the West pediment are works of the same master (cf. Schuchhardt, *Rundwerke* 198) must agree in dating the Athena statue soon after 480.

Another masterpiece of the period is the bronze Poseidon from Cape Artemision (cf. Jüthner, *AM* LXII 1937, pp. 136 ff.; G. M. Young, *BSA* XXXVII pl. 26–30; Karousos, *Delt.* XIII 72). The dating so far put forward for this statue does not satisfy me. It may be compared with the Tyrannicide group, and with the Apollo of the West pediment at Olympia. The artist of the former, if he really was Kritios, may have been aiming at a restoration of the earlier group, which was set up not before 487 (*AJA* XLIV 58, 2; cf. Beazley, *Berliner Maler* pl. 18); and the sculptor of the Apollo may have been working for some decades already. If we consider the bronze Poseidon in this context, we see that it is a near contemporary of the Tyrannicide group. The sculptor, who has been rightly identified as Kalamis, belongs to the younger generation of the period. He is also the author of the so-called Omphalos Apollo, which was a votive statue upon a pedestal, depicted in a vase-painting as early as 470–460 (Winter, *JdI* II 234 ff.; Webster, *Niobidenmaler* pl. 13). By dating the Poseidon in the years preceding or round about 470, we may even be able to establish a historical connexion for it. With the utmost caution, I suggest that we may possess in this work the Panhellenic dedication set up after the battle of Plataea in the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon (Herodotus IX 81). When the sanctuary was plundered by the Romans, the statue, we may conjecture, was destined for Pergamon. This assumption may explain the fact that Pausanias, who saw the Snake column in Delphi and the statue of Zeus at Olympia (both monuments erected for the same occasion as the Poseidon), does not mention the statue of Poseidon in the account of his visit to the Isthmian sanctuary. We learn from other sources of the plundering of Corinth in 146 B.C. We know from Polybius (XXXIX 6) that the Isthmian sanctuary, too, was not spared, for he tells us of its restoration (H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth, Results of Excavations*, I 68). One share of the plunder came to Rome (Monceaux, *Gaz. arch.* IX 359), part of

another was presented to Pergamon, part was sold (Pausanias, VII 18, 8). One ship (there must have been several) belonging to this expedition went down. A few Hellenistic clay vases rescued (together with the bronze statues) from its sunken cargo tell us that the pillage took place as early as the second century B.C. (Herbig, *Gnomon* V 636; cf. *AJA* XLV 90 ff.; *Class. Phil.* XXXVI 192).

After all that has been said, we may now regard the dating of the Athena statue as established in conformity with the new evidence.

Turning to the statue itself, the latest characteristics that we find in it are the perpendicular folds on the left leg in front and on the right leg at the back, and the kink in the chiton, behind the aegis, where the throat emerges. The scheme of the folds is to be found in vase-painting before 480; but the kink in the edge of the chiton on the breast appears first in Peloponnesian statuettes and in the Olympia sculptures (Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pls. 15a and 23a). It must be remembered, however, that this kink also occurs on the peplos statues from Xanthos which certainly belong to Ionic art (V. H. Poulsen, *Acta Arch.* VIII, 84 ff.; M. Robertson, *BMQ* 13 pl. 18, and p. 39–41).

A comparison between the Athena statue and what is left of the *kore* dedicated by Kiron (no. 2 above) shows clearly that these two statues cannot have been made by the same sculptor. We have to chose one of the following two assumptions: either (*a*) the *kore* dedicated by Kiron is a sculpture made in the studio of Euenor by one of his pupils, while the Athena statue was made by the master himself; or (*b*) the dedication of Kiron is an original work of Euenor, while the Athena statue was made in his studio by a young artist who was far superior to Euenor. A decision in this question will be offered later.

In any case, it would be a strange accident if the name of Euenor had not been preserved for us in literature. As long as the artist-signatures of Euenor were thought to belong to the middle of the sixth century, it was permissible to recognise in him (as Klein did), the artist of the Hekatompedon pediment, and to conjecture that the memory of his name had perished because none of his works had survived the Persian invasion. But we now have two sculptures made in his studio, and are able to identify the sculptor Euenor with the artist of the same name who is known to us from literary sources. The latter was the father of the painter Parrhasios, and is himself mentioned as a painter and as a contemporary of Polygnotos. Several of the artists of that period were sculptors as well as painters, and Pheidias himself is said to have painted in his youth (for all references to Pheidias cf. Lippold in *RE* under 'Pheidias'). Parrhasios was born at some time between 490 and 480. The statement that he was an Ephesian must not necessarily be taken to mean that he was born in Ephesus. The marked distinction that prevailed in the later part of the fifth century between Athenians and non-Athenians must have compelled persons of foreign extraction, or those at any rate who came from important cities, to make their origin clear. Parrhasios himself, a younger contemporary of Pheidias, furnished Mys with the designs for the reliefs on the shield of the Athena Promachos (cf. Bieber, *AJA* XLII 604). This statue, it may be remembered, was finished, after nine years of work, some time before the middle of the fifth century. If we can assume that Parrhasios's father was the painter and sculptor Euenor, the close connexion between the Athena statue and Pheidias' representations of the goddess is now for the first time explained. Pheidias, in his youth, may have learnt both painting and sculpture from Euenor, for it is during his youth that he is reported to have practised painting. Among the names of his masters that have come down to us there is neither a sculptor (in marble) nor a painter. We are therefore free to conjecture that he may have worked under Euenor. The motive of the hand resting on the hip appears for the first time in extant sculpture in the round in this Athena statue (cf. *Hesperia*,

VIII 162, fig. 1), and appears to me to be a development from the *kore* lifting her skirt with one hand; compare (as one of the latest examples of the earlier type) the statue, in the severe style, now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Reinach, *Repertoire* V 367, 6). The motive of our Athena statue is to become very popular in the next decades. Among instances in sculpture are the Oinomaos of the East pediment at Olympia, and the Athena relief, Acropolis no. 695. In vase-painting we may mention (besides the three vases with representations of Angelitos's dedication, p. 33 above; cf. Schefold, *JdI* LII 46, fig. 8) the Athenas of the Louvre crater from Orvieto (Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 5b), of a crater in New York (Richter, *Red-figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, 160 f., pl. 126) and of a white-ground lekythos in Athens (Fairbanks, *White Athenian Lekythoi* I, 122; McClees, *Daily Life*, 5, fig. 2). Our statue is the oldest instance that has come down to us, and is possibly the first of the series.

If it was Euenor himself who made the Athena statue, he must have exerted a great influence on Pheidias. It was the first statue of Athena in the severe style, made while Pheidias was still Euenor's pupil. Afterwards, Pheidias left Euenor's studio, but remained a friend of Euenor's son Parrhasios, a slightly younger artist whom he invited to collaborate with himself on the statue of Athena Promachos.

If we assume, however, that it was not Euenor himself who made this first monument of Athena in the severe style, we are now led to another assumption which should be expressed only with great caution. The young artist who, in Euenor's studio, made the Athena statue the style of which was to have such great influence on the artists of the following years, and especially on Pheidias, was Pheidias himself. A passage in Lucian (*Imag.* 4) indicates that not all Pheidias's works were signed with his name. Finally, we may recall that we actually hear (from an anecdote in Tzetzes) of an Athena statue of Pheidias (no. 9 in Lippold's list of the works of the master) which was set up on a high column (compare also Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio* XXVIII 188, note 4).

ANTON E. RAUBITSCHEK.

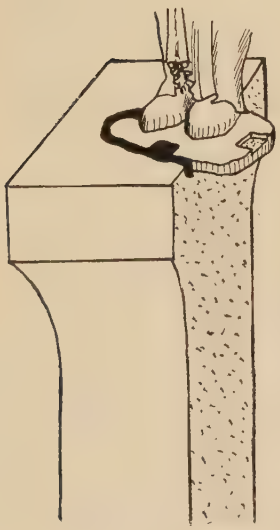

FIG. 16.

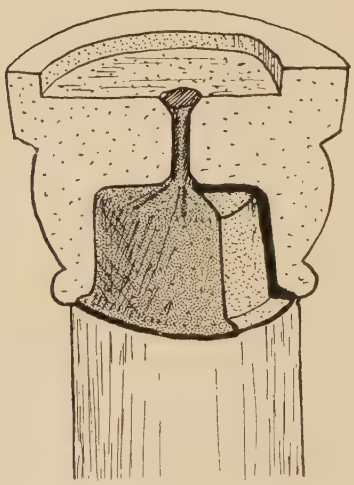

FIG. 30.

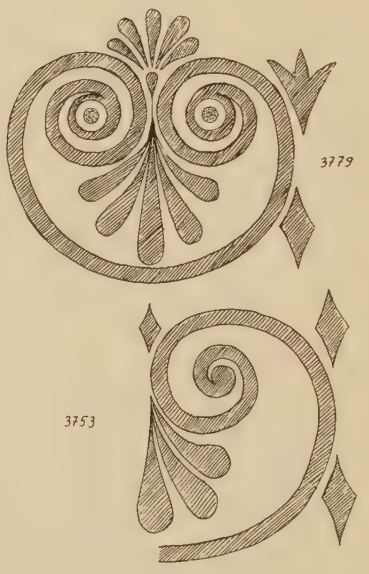

FIG. 39A.

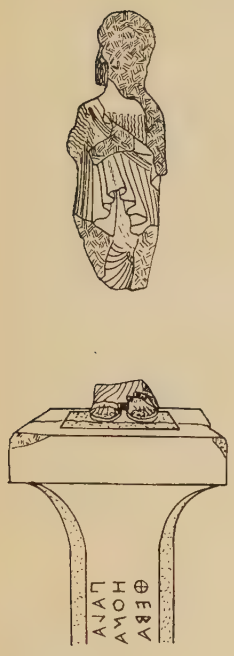

FIG. 11.

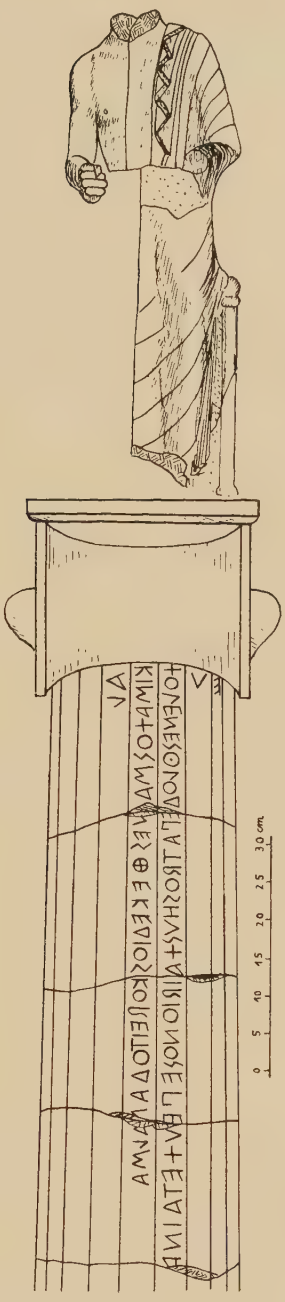

FIG. 4.

[In Fig. 33A the inscription is shown in front of the feet, but see fig. 34 and p. 30].

FIG. 15.

FIG. 33A.

FIG. 7.

UNPUBLISHED OBJECTS FROM PALAIKASTRO AND PRAISOS

PREFACE

By R. W. Hutchinson, Curator of Knossos

This second part of the *Unpublished Objects from Palaikastro and Praisos* has been delayed for various reasons, and its quality would have been much improved if it could have been edited by the distinguished scholar who conducted the excavations and edited the first part, and whose death was such a loss to British archaeology.

The section on engraved gems (pp. 43–49) had been written by Professor Bosanquet, but it has been amplified and corrected by Miss Eccles. The section on bronzes (pp. 51–59) has been entirely written by Miss Benton, who has used the note-books of Professor Bosanquet and the other excavators, as Miss Eccles and I have also done for the sections under our names. The account of Dicta, its sites and temples, and the Praisos–Itanos boundary dispute (pp. 60–82), had been drafted by Professor Bosanquet, and has been completed and corrected by me.

§ 1. TYPE-SPECIMENS OF MINOAN POTTERY FROM PALAIKASTRO

By R. W. Hutchinson (Plates 14, 15).

It should be remarked, with regard to many statements, that earlier reports must be corrected or amplified, in accordance with more recent researches on the Minoan and Archaic Greek cultures. Many vases, termed ' Kamares ' or M.M.II in the earlier reports, would now be classified as M.M.Ib, and most of those formerly called L.M. II would now be L.M.Ib. In their later reports the excavators modified their terminology in accordance with the modifications introduced by Sir Arthur Evans into his classification.

Some ceramic phases, such as M.M.IIa and L.M.IIa and b are practically confined to the district around Knossos. The classical M.M.Ia style, though common in Central Crete, is replaced in East Crete by an incipient M.M.I.b. Further, the excavations of the late Captain John Pendlebury in the Lasithi district have revealed strong local peculiarities in the pottery of the Late Neolithic and Sub-Neolithic period, and again in L.M.IIIb (*BSA* XXXVIII).

The vases on Plates 14, 15 are not specially selected to illustrate modifications in the terminology, but because they had either not been illustrated previously, or only by a line drawing. Plate 14[1] *k* (*CM* 2911) is an E.M.III cup with an internal design of hatched triangles in white and lustrous red on a black slip. To the same period or to the very beginning of M.M.Ia must be assigned *b* (*CM* 2891) with bands in lustrous white on a matt black slip. Certainly M.M.Ia are vases *d* (*CM* 2914 : matt white and red lines on matt black slip), *f* (*CM* 4681 : grey bucchero), *h* (*CM* 4723: matt white and orange spots on matt black), and *j* (*CM* 3337: lustrous white on matt black). Vase *i* (*CM* 3252: fugitive light red slip) is M.M.IIb–M.M.IIIb. Plate 14 *n* (*CM* 4746: matt white design on black) is presumably to be dated M.M.IIIa and bears a superficial resemblance to vases of the Erösd–Cucuteni A type, but I do not know the circumstances of its discovery.

Plate 14 *l* (*CM* 4745) is Late Minoan I with a polished red slip. The white-slipped kantharos *m* (*CM* 4748) may be assigned to Middle Minoan Ib. Plate 14 *o* (*CM* 4561) with designs in matt orange and white on a matt black slip (already illustrated *BSA Suppl.* 1926, pl. XI *a*) is M.M.I. Vase *p* (*CM* 4562), with designs in lustrous red with white accessories on a buff ground, was found in area χ 31, and belongs to the transitional L.M.Ia period. The

[1] Candia Museum Nos. 4689, 2891, 3351, 2914, 2890, 4681 (first line), 4690, 4723, 3252, 3337, and 2911 (second line).

brazier, Plate 14 *q* (*CM* 3287) in a matt red fabric with traces of a polished red slip, may be assigned to the M.M.III period.

The vases *r*, *s* on Plate 15 (*CM* 3270 *r*, 2860 *s*) are typical examples of the L.M.Ia period with designs in lustrous brown paint with white dots and lines superposed.

Plate 15 *t* (*CM* 4568 = *BSA Suppl.* 1926, p. 27, fig. 17) is a very handsome L.M.Ia bowl from χ 43, decorated both inside and out with substantially the same design in lustrous brown paint. Vase *u*, matt brown on buff, is L.M.IIIa; it comes from room B 22 (*CM* 3306 = *BSA Suppl.* 1926, p. 49, fig. 37).

The miniature strainers with matt white on red slip (Plate 14 *c* (*CM* 3351) and *e* (*CM* 2890)) may be dated L.M.Ia, and are certainly those described (*BSA Suppl.* 1926, p. 66) as coming from areas B 10 and 13. To the same period belong vases *b* (*CM* 4690) and *g* (*CM* 4689), both matt black on buff: the latter (*g*) appears to be the vase from E 17 figured *BSA Suppl.* 1926, p. 59, fig. 46, and it is possible that both the vase *a* and the miniature askos illustrated *BSA Suppl.*, 1926 (p. 48, fig. 45) were made in the same workshop.

In Plate 15, the stone vessels *v*, *w*, *u*, *z*, and perforated hammer *x* illustrate the variety and high quality of this typically Minoan craft.

§ 2. EVIDENCE OF A MINOAN SHRINE ON THE TEMPLE SITE AT PALAIKASTRO

By R. W. Hutchinson.

A number of fragments of clay *rhyta* in the form of a bull's head were discovered at Palaikastro on 1 April, 1905, in area Π in a L.M.I stratum immediately overlying a M.M.III deposit. Such pots were evidently cheap imitations of works of art like the silver *rhyton* from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae and the steatite *rhyton* from the Little Palace at Knossos. Another fragment of such a *rhyton* was uncovered in Π 105, and the nose of yet another in Π 106. On 5 April, 1905, a cheek and one eye of a bull's head *rhyton* were found in Π 101, and on 18 April a painted nozzle in χ 24; in both instances in deposits dating from the M.M.III period. Sir Arthur Evans has traced the development of the bull-shaped fillers of the M.M.I period back to Early Dynastic types in Sumer, but stresses the fact that this particular group of bull's head *rhyta* seems to have originated in Crete, and he points out the propriety of such *rhyta* in a cult of the earth-shaker (*PM* I. 188; II. 260; III. 537). Stratigraphically and stylistically these *rhyta* belong to the transition period from M.M.IIIb to L.M.Ia and a fragment (still unpublished) was found in the M.M.III tomb-deposit at Knossos on Monasteriako Kephali in 1935, and a complete example of L.M.Ia date was found at Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. i: *PM* II. 544).

Sir Arthur Evans has derived these M.M.III–L.M.I *rhyta* from Sumerian sources through the medium of bull-shaped fillers of the M.M.I period (*PM* II. 259–266), but regards this bull's-head type as a Cretan variant, since the Syrian examples are of later date (*PM* III. 538). He suggests that *rhyta* of this kind would be appropriate cult-vessels for the service of the earth-shaker Poseidon or his Minoan equivalent.

As the Palaikastro fragments were found beneath the ashy deposit from the later temple of Zeus Diktaios, they provide a reason for supposing that his cult succeeded to a cult of Minoan origin on the same site.

§ 3. HELLENIC POTTERY FROM THE TEMPLE SITE AT PALAIKASTRO

By R. W. Hutchinson: Plate 16.

The pottery from the Post-Minoan strata on the ' Temple Field ' (area χ) falls into three principal groups, (i) Geometric, (ii) Archaic, and (iii) Hellenistic. For the plan of the site, see *BSA* VIII, pl. xv.

Three geometric cups are reported from Ξ 14, and Professor Bosanquet records fragments of no fewer than forty lamps and twelve torch-holders scattered over different parts of the ' Temple Field.' One geometric cup (*BSA* X, 320, fig. 20), discovered in the road E, was associated with a group of seven jugs in a fine fabric, but with a poor dark grey slip (Plate 16, No. 2: *CM* 4615). The early date assigned to these cups, because of their position, I believe to be erroneous, and I do not think they are earlier than the Hellenistic period.

A small geometric pyxis-lid (Plate 16, No. 9) was found in Δ 45, adorned with radiating spokes of wavy lines in a clear black glaze, thinning to a light brown, applied over a good yellow slip. This lid was associated with a bronze spoon, just inside the door adjacent to wall 5.

To the same general group we may perhaps assign the late geometric cup (Plate 16, No. 7) from χ 46, with a cable pattern on the lip in dark brown glazed paint. Other geometric deposits are recorded from Ξ 14, where three plain cups were found together, and from Π 101, where the rim of a similar cup and a large geometric sherd were found associated with one large sherd of L.M.I date and a few L.M.III fragments, indicating a levelling of the hilltop, probably when the seventh century temple was constructed.

A group of archaic sherds, including a pithos fragment with a design of impressed lozenges, is reported from χ.

Among some scattered débris from the temple uncovered in area Ξ 47 (Excavator's Daybook, p. 170) was a piece of moulded terracotta, conceivably part of a vase. Its greatest length is 12 cm. and the surface is covered with a fine white slip. The moulded decoration in low relief represents a lion walking to the left with its off-foreleg raised and its tail recurved over the back in a somewhat heraldic pose. The nearest parallels I can remember to this piece are to be found on the relief-ornamented bucchero of Etruria, and particularly that of Chiusi: compare H. B. Walters, *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, I, II, pl. xx, No. H. 219, from Vulci.

To the sixth century should also be assigned probably some at least of the twelve torch-holders and forty lamps recorded by Professor Bosanquet. Cretan lamps seem not to have changed very much between the seventh and third centuries B.C., but of the five lamps (Plate 16, Nos. 10–14) we may note that Nos. 11, 12 and 13 resemble Broneer's type IV dated ' mainly fifth century ' in the Corinthian series (*Corinth Excavations*, IV, II, Pl. ii, Nos. 64 and 71).

The richest nest of Hellenic vases was discovered in χ 46, but three fragments of a torch-holder are reported from χ 45, three bridge-spouted lamps (one with two wicks) from the west half of χ, and other vases on the road that led up to the temple, associated with fragments of the earlier group of Medusa antefixes. Fragments of similar antefixes were also found in Ξ 47 associated with a very interesting sherd decorated with a lion in relief.

There seems to have been no pottery on the temple site that could be attributed to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., but a considerable quantity of Hellenistic pottery was found. Many of the forty lamps must have belonged to this period (Plate 16, Nos. 10 and 14); and to Hellenistic times we must assign a series of small bowls with inverted rims, found in χ 46, and

coated inside and on the outside of the rims with dark glazed paint (Plate 16, No. 5; *CM* 4610). We may also assign to the Hellenistic temple a group of three cups from the same area (Plate 16, No. 6; *CM* 4612) with a band of pale dull red paint on the lip.

Near the surface of χ and especially χ 46 a series of twelve Hellenistic cups was found (Plate 16, No. 4; *CM* 4612). A band of metallic glaze was applied to the lip and allowed to trickle down inside. The upper part of the channelled handle was brought over the rim of the vase and attached to the inside. To the same period certainly belongs the ' oka ' (Plate 16, No. 3; *CM* 4615, Excavator's Catalogue E. 1224) found in Dromos E and resembling so closely the ' oka ' from the Hellenistic grave at Praisos.

Also Hellenistic probably are the plate from χ 46 (Plate 16, No. 8; *CM* 4610) with moulded rim, coated with a dull black glaze, and the small lekythos (Plate 16, No. 1; *CM* 4613) adorned, above and below a body band reserved in the red clay, with dark grey slip. Vases of similar shapes were found in 1937 in an unpublished Hellenistic deposit at Knossos.

§ 4. OBJECTS OF TERRACOTTA FROM PALAIKASTRO AND PRAISOS

By R. W. Hutchinson : Plates 17–20.

[Though some of these objects have already been published, they are better represented in the photographs in Plates 17–20.

The descriptions are based on notes left by Mr. Hutchinson when he left England for Crete in 1940, and it has not been possible to submit them to him for revision.]

A Bull's-head of Terracotta (Plate 20 A; *CM* 2070) was found at Praisos, but the circumstances of the find are not recorded. It may be the fragment which Bosanquet thought (*BSA Suppl.* I (1923) 153 n.) to be the end of the ridge-pole of the *larnax* from Tholos B. The *larnakes* in Candia afford nothing like it, but Dr. Schachermayer reports a similar head on a LM.III *larnax* in the Museum at Hierapetra. This head is of pink clay, covered with a pink slip; across the horns (one of which is broken) it measures ·13 m. and from the top of the head to the tip of the muzzle ·10 m. One ear is missing. Strongly marked characteristics are the bold modelling of the eyes and brow, the incised lines above the nostrils, the slit for the mouth, the narrow neck and nose, and the forward stretching of the head. The general appearance, especially the slender structure of the skull, and the heavy brows rising outwards, recall the bull's head on the ' Queen's Cup ' from the *tholos*-tomb at Dendra in the Argolid: A. W. Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 48 ff., Plates I, XIII, XIV.

The head may therefore be attributed, on grounds of style, to the LM.III*a* period. It has some interest as one of the comparatively few Minoan objects found at Praisos.

A Terracotta ' Sima ' from Palaikastro, with part of a procession in relief (Pl. 17) was published, but only from a drawing, in *BSA* XI 300–307, plate XV. Two blocks of this *sima* had been presented to the Candia Museum long before, and were published by Halbherr in *The Antiquary* for 1892. Other fragments were excavated by the British School on the, Temple-site in areas E38, X35, X46.

A Beardless Male Figure of Terracotta, from the Altar Hill at Praisos, of which only the head and body are preserved (Pl. 18, 19) was published by E. S. Forster in *BSA* VIII, 272–5, Pl. XIII, 1, as ' the Young God ', with the suggestion that it might be the cult-statue of the Altar Hill sanctuary. Bosanquet called attention to a beardless statue of Zeus at Dikta (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. Δίκτη . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἀγένειον ἵστατο· λέγεται καὶ Δικταῖον) and suggested that the same young and beardless god may be the archer on coins of Praisos (whom Head

thought might be Herakles, *Hist. Num.* (1911) 475), and on terracotta plaques from Praisos itself. But the figure is more likely a human votary. Jenkins (*Daedalica* 83–4) dates it about 575 B.C., and detects Cyprian influence. What Forster described as 'earrings' are the ears themselves, in accordance with the sixth century convention illustrated in Payne and Young, *Archaic Sculpture of the Acropolis*, nos. 269, 669, 679, 682.

§ 5. MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

By R. W. Hutchinson.

A Fragment of a Cosmetic Bowl of Egyptian type comes from Praisos, but I have been unable to identify it in the Museums containing Palaikastro material. Bosanquet left some notes on this object, and two restored drawings of it (fig. 1), but did not state the material, or the circumstances of its discovery. Probably it was a chance find purchased by Bosanquet from some local proprietor.

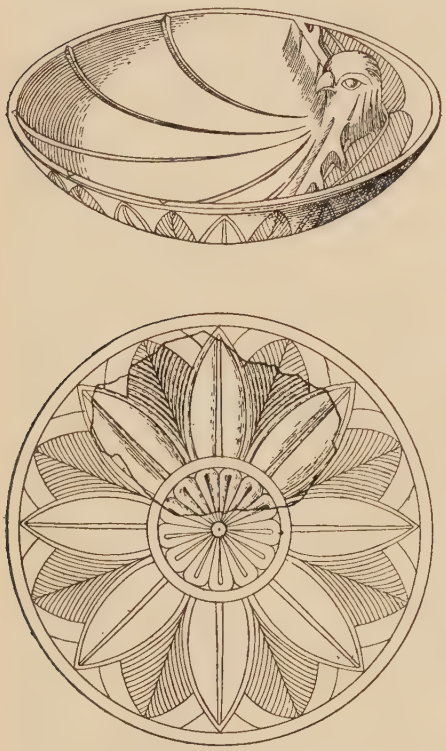

Fig. A.—Cosmetic Bowl of Egyptian Type, restored.

In form the fragment recalls (1) the bowls of *tridacna*-shell with a handle modelled in the form of a woman's head in Phoenician style and with incised designs on the outside; (2) the alabaster imitation of such a bowl discovered at Delphi. For these *tridacna*-bowls, which have been found widely, from Warka and Nimrud to Etruria, and (in a different kind of shell) in Spain, see Poulsen, *Der Orient u.d. früh-griechische Kunst*, 65 ff.; Thiersch in Furtwängler, *Aegina* 429 note 1; and more recently Blinkenberg, *Lindos* pp. 175–182 with references to previous studies. For the alabaster imitation of such a bowl, from Delphi, see Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* V, 22 ff.; Poulsen *Delphi* (tr. G. C. Richards) 63–4, fig. 11; von Bissing, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1912, p. 222; Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 70, fig. 72.

Nearer parallels can be quoted from Egypt in the Ptolemaic period, where Sir Flinders Petrie in his excavations at Nefire (*Naukratis* I (1888) 32) found 'a small bowl with round base in the form of an eagle whose wings end as a sevenfold shell'. The material was grey steatite and the eyes inlaid with mother-of-pearl (Petrie) or glass (von Bissing, below). Stratigraphically this bowl cannot be later than early Roman, and might well be Hellenistic. Two similar bowls of dark grey steatite with pattern on the underside resembling that of the Praisos fragment were illustrated by Petrie (*Objects of Daily Life* (1927) Pl. XXXIV 26 and 31, now in University College, London), who regarded this small group as contemporary and probably the product of a single workshop.

Von Bissing dates a similar bowl in silver with shell-like bowl and recurved eagle's head handle to the Ptolemaic period, and regards the steatite vases as contemporary or perhaps a little earlier. He notes another example in the Egyptian section of the Naples Museum. He remarks that the decoration on the lower side is not Egyptian but Hellenistic. Cf. *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum, *Metallgefässe* (*Einleitung*), Pl. II, No. 3560, cf. *Steingefässe*, p. 22.

Professor Ernest Gardner also attributed these bowls to the Hellenistic period, and Miss Murray, rather hesitatingly, to the XXVI Dynasty. The Praisos fragment was regarded by Professor Bosanquet as early Hellenistic. The shell forms of the steatite bowls are important, since they provide a clear link with the *tridacna*-bowls of Phoenicia, despite the gap in time between the two groups.

Minoan Votive Figurines.—The following casual finds, in the Candia Museum, were reported in a letter from the Demarch of Sitia dated 5/18 April, 1910.

(1) A clay hedgehog and Minoan figurines (Pl. 20 B) were found by George N. Chatzidakis in the field of Nic. K. M. Basilakis at a place called Vourvoulída (Βουρβουλίδα) in the neighbourhood of Piskoképhalo. They indicate a rustic sanctuary like that of Petsofà above Palaikastro (Myres, *BSA* IX, 256 ff., Pl. VII–XIII). For the hedgehog (no. 3: ·095 m. long) compare *BSA* IX, 377, Pl. XIII, 80, cf. 62, 63; for the male torso (no. 7: ·15 m. high), the leg (no. 1), and the foot (no. 6) cf. *BSA* IX, Pl. X, 5, 12, 13; for the woman's skirt (no. 4: ·135 m. high) cf. *BSA* IX, Pl. XI, 28. But no. 2 and perhaps no. 5 appear to be Hellenic.

(2) The terracotta waist and legs, published by E. M. Forster in *BSA* VIII, 273–4, fig. 1, were found by Georgios Malliotákis in a field west of the road from Piskoképhalo to Maroúma. On the hill above, called Mesaveráta (Μεσαβεράτα) he found obsidian flakes.

(3) At Pétràs near Sitia, Moustapha Padová (Μπαντουβά) found a clay 'fruit-stand', ·32 m. high and ·09 m. wide at the base, painted with nine broad dark-brown bands on buff. The foot which had a low plinth ·008 m. high was solid below, but perforated at the top, where the bowl or lamp was broken away. With it were a small jug with neck broken, and several small cups of the commonest type.

§ 6. THE SEALS AND SEALINGS

By Edith Eccles.

Professor Bosanquet's text was already in galley-proof more than fifteen years ago; but as it had to be re-set, I have made a few corrections and additions, and added the inventory numbers which the objects now bear in the Candia Museum (quoted under CM) and references to works published since 1926.

A full discussion of the seals from Palaikastro should take account of the numerous examples obtained in the province of Sitia by Sir Arthur Evans, who travelled there in the days of Turkish rule, and other collectors. Owing to the migratory character of the Christian population, many of whom passed the winter in the villages of the Palaikastro plain and the summer in villages in the hills, and to frequent intermarriages with more distant settlements, gems found here have been widely scattered. In the list which follows have been included some stones from Palaikastro and neighbouring sites which were bought for the Candia Museum during the excavation. It is probable that most of them come from interments disturbed in agricultural work.

Xanthoudidis' important paper on seals in the Candia Museum (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1907, 141–86, Pls. VI–VIII) is cited simply under his name, and references to the figures on his plates, which are numbered continuously, are by the figure-number only.

One find-spot has special significance. A green steatite prism-seal of the Third Early Minoan period (No. 1, fig. 8) was found in a house of the Second Late Minoan period, at the bottom of a jar used in the process of purifying oil after pressing. Possibly this seal, already

ancient and mysterious, was used in that later time as an oil-making charm, like the engraved gems and other stones which in modern Crete are regarded as milk-bringers (γαλόπετρες), blood-stayers (αἱματοστάτες), and preventives of miscarriage (ἀναβαστακτῆρες). So, in a Hellenistic house at Praisos, a small greenstone celt was found lying on the bed of an olive-press (*BSA* VIII, 264–5). The possibility of its having reached this position after the desertion of the house was considered and rejected at the time of the discovery. The press-bed lay in the corner of the room, sheltered by massive walls, its projecting spout carefully pointed into the angle (*op. cit.*, pl. XI), and the axe was in contact with it beneath the layer of fallen roof-tiles.

The special virtue of the stone axe and of the prism-seal in this connexion would have been inferred from their olive-green colouring; the best milk-stones have white markings, blood-stayers red. [Professor Bosanquet asked Dr. Xanthoudidis if this belief were general and received from him the following note:—" Here in Crete such stones as have *white veins* (γαλανάδια) are specially in repute as milk-bringers (γαλόπετρες, γαλατοῦσες). They are hung on the breast by nursing mothers. Stones with *red veins* are in repute as blood-stayers (αἱματοστάτες). They are set in rings or hung round the neck. The use of charms to prevent miscarriage (ἀναβαστακτῆρες) is more rare, and this superstition is not very common."]

The numerals in square brackets refer to the illustrations.

Three-sided Prism-seals.

1 [8]. *CM* 567. Green steatite, rudely and deeply cut. For this class, cf. *Scripta Minoa* I, 130–4; *PM* I, 123 ff. Found in β **37** in sunk *pithos* below separator-jar for oil-making.

(*a*) head of ram, serrated bar above; cf. *JHS* XIV 341, fig. 64 *b*, and 345, fig. 72 *c*.

(*b*) man and spider, cf. *JHS* XVII Pl. IX, 1 (man, spider, and goat) with Evans' remarks (p. 333) on the Lydian legend of Arachne, and the spider as the symbol of the spinning industry: also *Scripta* (*SM*) I, 212.

(*c*) goat and murex-shell. The shell suggests that purple was used for dyeing in E.M.III.

2 [10]. *CM* 571. *Scripta Minoa* I, 155 (p. 29). White steatite. Found in an M.M. ossuary at 'στὰ 'Ελληνικά on the slope of Kastri (*BSA* X, 202). Engraved on all three faces:—

(*a*) three hieroglyphic signs; ψ (= *silphium*-flower?), leg, goat. This sign-group is frequent: cf. *SM* I 237, fig. 104; 269–72, esp. fig. 123, a clay-sealing from Knossos, on which it is associated with a portrait-head presumably that of a king (*PM* I, 276, fig. 206). The ψ-sign Evans regards as embodying an official title.

(*b*) a kind of *swastika* and two filling-ornaments. The *swastika* in Minoan Crete goes back to a figure used on E.M. seals (*e.g.* three from the *tholos* at Hagia Triada, Banti, ' La grande tomba e tholos di Hagia Triada ', *Annuario* XIII–XIV, n. 196, 207, 250).

(*c*) three hieroglyphic signs; plough, mountains, mallet. This group recurs on a four-sided seal from Sitia, near Palaikastro, and may be a geographical formula (*SM* I, 155 (P. 29 *c*), cf. 157 (P. 44 *d*) and pp. 262 ff.

3 [Not illustrated]. *CM* 234; *BSA* VIII, 297, fig. 14. Black steatite. Found in the M.M. ossuary in 1902. *a*, wreath enclosing branch; *b*, two toothed lines, four discs below (branches and fruit?) cf. *SM* I, p. 149, p. 4* *b*: *c*, two foliate scrolls. Cf. *SM* I (p. 3 *c*) and a prism-seal from Zakro (Xanthoudidis, 28).

4 [1]. *CM* 566. Pale grey-blue steatite. Found in the mud-plaster of a wall in the courtyard of House B (β 11 on plan; *BSA Suppl.* I (1923) Pl. 1).

(*a*) ship with mast, rigging and oars, and beside it a branch; (*b*) two fish, placed head to tail; (*c*) S-shaped scroll terminating at either end in a star-like flower and leaf. Ship and branch are associated also on the *CM* 588 below; see *PM* I, pp. 279–84, figs. 210*o*, 213 and 215, where Evans connects the ship and olive-spray with the export trade in oil: see also *PM* II, 239 ff. and IV, 717.

5 [12]. *CM* 588. Brown steatite. Bought. Found at Adhromýloi near Lithinais, 1½ hrs. SW. of Praisos. *a*, centipede (?); *b*, ship with mast, rigging, and oars; beside it a branch; *c*, two fish, as on preceding seal (*CM* 566).

6 [11]. *CM* 574. White steatite, gable-shaped. Found in disturbed earth in the excavation of the town. All three sides bear decorative designs resembling those of a seal in the Candia Museum (Xanthoudidis, 27), which, like *CM* 574, has one facet larger than the others, and is neatly and skilfully engraved. For seals with one facet larger than the others, as a stage in transition to the lentoid form, see Xanthoudidis, 154).

7 [Not illustrated.[1]] Almost globular white stone prism-seal. Bought, but found on the town site. Two facets plain; on the third, a pattern of straight lines and chevrons. Another of the same shape, found in earth removed from the town site, is a semi-transparent yellow pebble, much worn and showing only faint traces of a design.

Signet (Pendant-seal).

8 [13]. *CM* 573. Dark green jasper. Bought. Said to have been found at 'στὰ 'Ελληνικά near Piskokephalo, two miles S. of Sitia. Figurines like those of Petsofá have been traced to the same spot (p. 43, and Pl. 20). Conventional lion's

[1] Where no Candia Museum number (*CM*) is given, it must be presumed that the object cannot be traced in the inventory.

FIGS. 1–29.—ENGRAVED SEAL-STONES FROM PALAIKASTRO.

All approximately on 1 : 1 *scale. Nos.* 19–20 *are printed in the text.*

mask. For this type cf. *PM* I, 673, fig. 492 *b*, a less degenerate version on a dark green signet in the Candia Museum (Xanthoudidis, 45). These signets of hard stone are chiefly found in Eastern Crete (*JHS* XVII, 342 ff.) and are assigned to M.M.II. (*PM* I, 274 ff.; IV, 488). Three, all assigned to M.M. III, were found in tombs at Mochlos, one being of silver (Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 110).

Oblong Bead-Seals, perforated through longer axis.

9 [19–20]. *CM* 236. Rock-crystal, rectangular in section with two grooved lines running round all sides, engraved on both faces. Bought. Found near Μυρτίδια, the hamlet W. of the modern village of Palaikastro.

10 [2]. *CM* 578. Carnelian; flattened cylinder. Found in δ **11**. Goat with spear stuck in its back; vegetation below: cf. Xanthoudidis, 151; Hawes, *Gournia*, fig. 30, 7. This form of seal appears first in M.M.II and was increasingly used in M.M.III. (*PM* I, 276, 672; IV, 499 ff.)

11 [4]. *CM* 570. Chalcedony, flattened cylinder. Bought. Found at Κοχλακιές, a hamlet in the valley S. of the plain of Palaikastro. Two cuttle-fish. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 51, 81 and 122, all amygdaloid.

12 [Not illustrated]. Steatite, flattened cylinder, engraved on both faces, imperfect. Found in β **38**. (*a*) mesh-pattern; (*b*) hatched lines.

19 *20*

Scale 1 : 1

Amygdaloid Seals.

For the dating of this class to M.M.III–L.M.I, see E. Hall, *Sphoungaras*, in *Univ. Penns. Anthr. Publ.* III, 2, pp. 69–70. Evans *PM* I, 672 f; IV. 493 ff, defines their period still more closely as M.M.III*b*–L.M.I*a*. According to Evans the designs are often of uncertain signification, but several of them, such as the water-vessels and plants, are almost certainly ' talismanic ' or ' amuletic '.

13 [5]. *CM* 579. Sardonyx. Bought. Found on town site at Palaikastro. Sea-urchin (?), fish, and branch-like filling-patterns. A three-sided amygdaloid with marine subjects (Xanthoudidis, 46) bears on one side a fish between two such rayed globes; cf. Xanthoudidis, 94; *Mochlos*, p. 22, fig. 6; *Sphoungaras*, fig. 45 B. It is natural to think of the rayed discs on the Palaikastro moulds (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1900, Pl. III) and on certain L.M.I fillers (*BSA*, *Suppl.*, I, 50, 53, Pl. XX), which may stand for the sun. Probably the sea-urchin, which appears often on these amulet-seals, had some apotropaic virtue. On the *larnax*, *BSA* VIII, Pl. XIX, a fish is associated with three star-like figures, and on Pl. XVIII one appears above the gryphon.

14 [6]. *CM* 564. Carnelian. Found in excavation. Two fishes against a latticed background. Variations of this design are very common in the district. The net-like ground appears on M.M.II seals; on *PM* I, fig. 207 *e* and *h*, it forms the background to a fish, on a four-sided prism-seal from Sitia. The real prototype of our design may be the heart-shaped figure, *PM* I, fig. 219, in which Evans recognises the seed-vessel of the silphium plant; but the engravers who repeated it on these amulets seem to have forgotten its meaning. Four gems of this type were obtained in 1901 during the excavations at Praisos. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 112; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. IV 8–10 and 12, and Vol. III, 30.

15 [Not illustrated.] *CM* 577. Half of a smaller carnelian. Found in House σ. Similar design.

16 [24]. *CM* 589. Dark green jasper. Length ·025. Bought. Said to have been ploughed up at 'στὰ Ἑλληνικά on the slope of Kastri. Narrow building with two gables, tree at either side. Cf. *PM* I, fig. 493; Xanthoudidis, 47 α; *Sphoungaras*, fig. 45 G; Furtwängler, *A.G.*, Pl. IV, 3 and 5.

17 [Not illustrated]. *CM* 563. Small carnelian. Length ·016. Probably found in the excavation. Two S-curves on a latticed background. In its original form, this design represented a vase with one or more S-shaped handles. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 47 β and γ, and 81, where the same scrolls are set on either side of a cuttlefish; Furtwängler, *A.G.*, Pl. IV, 3; *Sphoungaras*, fig. 45 D.

18 [7]. Black haematite, fluted at back. Bought. Found in a field W. of town site. Meaningless design repeated on either side of a vertical division; perhaps a degenerate version of no. 11, fig. 4. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 54.

Lentoid Seals.

19 [15]. *CM* 576. Sardonyx. Bought. Said to have been found between the sea and the M.M. ossuary excavated in 1902. Cross with equal arms; for its significance cf. *PM* I, 513 ff. Cf. lentoids from Knossos; Xanthoudidis, 142 and 162. A cognate design is the quatrefoil sealing; Zakro, No. 94, *JHS* XXII, Pl. IX.

20 [21–22]. *CM* 591. Unusually thick lentoid of rock crystal. Diam. ·014 m. Bought. Found at Zakro. M.M.II. Conventional bull's head facing, with turned-down horns. Cf. *PM* IV, 496, fig. 434 and the more naturalistic Zakro sealing No. 82, *JHS* XXII, Pl. VIII.

21 [26]. *CM* 575. White marble. Cross lines divide the field into four quadrants filled with parallel lines at an angle of 45° to the arms of the cross. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 118.

22 [Not illustrated.] *CM* 580. Dark grey steatite, much worn. Found in ε **36–43**, a L.M.II house. Quadruped (?). A similar stone with design obliterated was found on the surface of ξ **6**.

23 [14]. *CM* 561. Brown onyx. Bought. Found with two steatite blossom-bowls and a bronze ring (lost) on Cape Plaka, S. of the plain of Palaikastro, in a cave, where they probably accompanied an interment. Lion dragging down a bull; small exergue below. For the exergue cf. *PM* IV, figs. 498–9, 505, 509 and 535–6. This belongs to a late class of thick lentoids, generally large, presumably L.M.III. For form and design cf. Xanthoudidis, 98, which shows the same subject. The lion's head is treated in the same way on a very large agate in the British Museum (1910–6–15–8) on which is a lioness attacking two hinds.

24 [3]. *CM* 562. Agate, the main substance yellow and translucent, with opaque milky patches. Found in β **24**, in the courtyard of the smaller house which was reoccupied in L.M.III times. Lion to l., his head turned back, roaring and lashing his tail; tree behind, chevrons below; the whole enclosed by a border-line. This gem belongs to the same late class as the preceding no. 23, [14] *CM* 561.

25 [25]. *CM* 237. Dark grey steatite; diam. ·013 m. Bought at Palaikastro. Design of small circles. Cf. Xanthoudidis, 131.

Cylinders.

26 [16]. *CM* 565. Black haematite, very slender. Length ·0125, diam. ·006. Found in House σ **5**, associated with L.M.II pottery (*BSA* X, 215). Female figure with bird's head and wings between two fishes; plant with three shoots or fruits between two water-fowl. The two confronted designs reinforce each other; the plant enframing the whole group centred on the winged figure.

27 [17]. *CM* 233. See *BSA* VIII, 302, fig. 18. Black steatite. Length ·019 m., diam. ·009. Found in a L.M.III *larnax*-burial on the cliff. Two female figures with animal head and short skirts, a lion-headed genius separated by two palm trees (?) Sir Arthur Evans suggested to me that it was Cypro-Minoan.

28 [18]. *CM* 592. Black haematite, thicker than either *CM* 233 or *CM* 565. Length ·021 m., diam. ·012. Bought. Found S. of the town site. Female figure in flounced skirt, standing, perhaps blowing a conch; to either side a seated figure, also in flounced skirt, one raising hands in a gesture of adoration; five other attendants with one hand raised, standing or kneeling on one knee; these form a subsidiary group about the standing figure shown here on the right. In field above, a gryphon and worn traces of five others; four are in file, but the three largest form a group centred over the subsidiary group of votaries. The design is bordered above by a spiral line which encircles the cylinder twice. Much worn, so that details are uncertain.

Scarab.

29 [9]. *CM* 569. Hard black steatite. Length ·015. Found in an early Hellenic deposit adjoining the remains of the Temple of Dictaean Zeus. Goat to r. looking back; in front of it, a lion rampant to l.; within border-line. Mr. and Mrs. J. D. S. Pendlebury, who kindly examined the stone for me, thought it probably not Egyptian work but a local imitation.

Seal-impressions on Pottery.

30 [30]. *CM* 3564–6. Group of four signs: flying-fish, shell, jug, and duck; found thrice:—(1) impressed on lower end of flat handle of a cup with reddish slip; (2) on curve of a similar handle with black slip; (3) inside rim-fragment of a yellow cup. Of these (1) was found among M.M.III–L.M.I pottery in ε **31**, a room which yielded no L.M.II remains and only a few L.M.III sherds at a sherds at a higher level; (2) is from the cemetery site of Μπουνταλάκης, where most of the finds were M.M. or earlier; (3) is unrecorded. Sir Arthur Evans figured this impression (*SM* I, 157, p. 43 (scale 2: 1)) and noted the fineness of the lines, probably produced by a metal signet. He also drew attention to the occurrence of the pot-sign, indicative of the potter's craft: 'We seem here to have a maker's mark, in all probability supplying his name' (*SM* I, p. 142). On p. 225 he printed the principal sign separately, and called it 'wholely enigmatic' but Bosanquet thought there could be little doubt that it was a flying-fish, the three discs standing for the wing-tips. The design belongs to the Hieroglyphic Class B, which went out of use at Knossos at the end of M.M.II; but such a signet may have been in use somewhat later at Palaikastro.

31 [31]. *CM* 4819. Elliptical imprint on a round vase-handle of coarse pottery of L.M.III fabric, and this dating is confirmed by the occurrence of sealstones with similar designs in the Kalyvia cemetery; found in π **38**, where most of the pottery was however M.M.III–L.M.I. Two goats, back to back and reversed, within a border-line.

Seal-impressions on Loom-weights.

These terracotta weights fall into two main groups, conveniently described as 'blocks' and 'discs'. The blocks are parallelopipeds from ·045 m. to ·08 m. high, sometimes square, sometimes oblong in plan, with a vertical hole through each angle from top to bottom; the dimensions of the top vary from ·035 × ·035 m. to ·05 × 0·75 m. Fig. 32 shows one in top-view; fig. 42 another in side-view. Over 100 were found in the excavations, and of these at least 15 had been marked with seals when the clay was soft. Seventy-one were found together in E36 and a smaller hoard in another room of this L.M.II house, with pithoi and other vases. The discs are usually about ·07 m. in diameter and ·02 thick. A few are circular discs like Fig. 41, a form which, with two perforations, survived into classical times (*B.M. Guide to . . . Greek and Roman Life*, 3rd. ed., figs. 148 and 152), but the usual form approximates to Fig. 34, a circle drawn out and flattened at the top; many examples have a groove or channel along the flat top. Of this common type, Dawkins noted 74 with two piercings, 60 with one.

Other types occur, including balls, drums, truncated cones and pyramids. For the use of these 'warp-weights' on vertical looms see H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, pp. 33–8 and Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, V, 166, s.v. *Textrinum*. The 'blocks' seem peculiar to the Minoan world; one in steatite with five piercings occurred at Phylakopi. The four piercings are better understood when it is realised that the warp-threads were bunched, not weighted singly; we may compare the normal three piercings of the triangular weights

found in Britain, *e.g.*, Bulleid and Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, II, 568–79. The ' discs ' sometimes approximate in form to the inscribed clay ' labels ' of Knossos (*Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 147, fig. 95, etc.), which served a different purpose. Fig. 27 is Early Minoan, the others mostly M.M.III–L.M.I. A block from Chamaïzi, bearing two impressions of a design of two intertwined loops, is the only other example known to me of a loom-weight with seal-impression

Figs. 30–44.—Seal Impressions and Graffiti from Palaikastro.

found in a purely Minoan context. A disk with two piercings, from a mixed stratum in the Little Palace at Knossos (Stratigraphical Museum, Box P.I. 12) bears an impressed design of a bird with outspread wings; but I think it is classical. Dr. Marinatos has kindly drawn my attention to a disk loom-weight found by him at Amnisos, which bears an impressed *epsilon*. (See Margarita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I, p. 2, No. 3.)

32 [32]. *CM* 4794. On top of block with four vertical piercings. Dog seated to r.; two branches in field. Two examples. From House E **36**.

33 [Not illustrated]. *CM* 4793 and 4795. On top of similar blocks. Lion (?) to l.; branch in field above. Three examples. From House E **36**.

34 [33–34]. *CM* 4813. On side of disc with one large perforation. Goat or horned sheep standing to r.; before him a branch or tree; above his back a figure-of-eight shield. From House χ **8**.

35 [35]. *CM* 4807. On top of block with four vertical piercings. Geometrical design. Cf. *PM* I, fig. 518 *j*; ' Tomb of the Double Axes,' *Archaeologia*, LXV, Pl. II.

36 [29]. *CM* 4792. On top of much broken block. Cruciform pattern.
37 [38]. *CM* 4806. On top of block. Zigzags.
38 [23]. *CM* 4798–4802. The above impressions have been made with lentoid seals; this is from an amygdaloid. The swivel by which it was held has left its mark on the clay. The design is faint, but suggests an animal with its head turned towards its hind leg. Five examples, all on top of parallelopipeds with rounded angles and a single perforation from side to side, ·07 m. to ·09 high.
39 [37]. On top of block with four vertical piercings. Woman standing to l. From House δ **72**.
40 [36]. *CM* 4804. On similar block but on side. Decorative design with spiral scroll, within a border. The seal was slightly elliptical. From House ξ.
41 [27]. *CM* 4814. On disc, elongated into a truncated oval, with groove along flat top. Four converging spirals. Found in House δ **32** at the lowest level with E.M. sherds (*BSA* X, 202). Cf. a sealstone from Hagios Onouphrios, *JHS* XIV, 328, fig. 50, and another from Knossos (*CM* 201).
42 [28]. On Hellenic amphora-handle. Monogram ΜΑΤΡ or the like. Found in a building of Hellenic date near the customs warehouse at the foot of Kastri.

Graffiti on Pottery and Loom-weights.

For those found at Zakro see *BSA* VII, 127. Signorina Banti kindly informs me that there are also a few unpublished loom-weights with graffiti from Phaistos.

43 [40]. On coarse ware, probably M.M. Square, deeply scratched in the wet clay. Two examples.
44 [41]. *CM* 4815. On disc loom-weight with two small perforations. Double axe and oblong incuse-mark. From House δ **46**, lowest level.
45 [42]. *CM* 4797. On side of block loom-weight with four perforations. Fish, incised.
46 [47]. On coarse red earthenware handle. Double axe, deeply scratched in wet clay. From House δ. Another example of this marking was found in a rock-shelter at H. Nikolaos, on a pithos containing bones (*BSA* IX, 340).
47 [44]. On rim of cup of coarse red ware. Single axe. Found in House π **41**.
48 [39]. On broken base of small vessel, once covered with reddish slip. Hellenistic at earliest. Compass-pattern, lightly scratched.

Other incised marks include a + sign on a disk loom-weight; the same on a coarse brown sherd from χ 23; Δ on the leg of a cooking-pot from the same room, and on the side of a platter from χ 26. All seem to be M.M., if not earlier.

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BRONZES FROM PALAIKASTRO AND PRAISOS

PLATES 21–32

BY SYLVIA BENTON

§ 8. BRONZES FROM PALAIKASTRO

CAST TRIPOD-CAULDRONS

THERE are fragments of eight to ten tripods from Palaikastro now in the Candia Museum. Some of these were found outside and in front of the temple precincts. The excavator mentions fourteen, but he may not have noticed that certain fragments belong to the same tripod. Part of a tripod-leg in the British Museum catalogued (1907, 1–19–233) as being from Palaikastro and published *BSA* XXXV, 96, 97, fig. 10, pl. 23, 5, is illustrated in Bosanquet's notes, but I have not been able to determine the exact provenience of individual tripods at Palaikastro. Compare the position of tripods found in front of the sanctuary of Polis in Ithaca, *BSA* XXXV, 51, and in front of the Idaean Cave, Halbherr and Orsi, *Museo Italiano*, II, p. 5. It certainly comes from the same workshop as Candia Museum No. 86 from the Idaean Cave and carries a similar figurine.

The legs of Cretan tripods differ from the mainland types in having sharper contours and simpler decoration. Contrast No. 4 (pl. 21, and fig. 45, p. 52), which is a typical Cretan leg, with No. 6 (pl. 22, and fig. 45), which is of the mainland type. Nicking of fillets on tripod-legs is rare in Crete; No. 5 is an exception. Candia Museum, No. 1718, has mainland decoration, but a Cretan contour.

For a discussion of this kind of tripod, see *BSA* XXXV, 56. The dates I have suggested for the different classes of tripods are subject to revision, but the termini are firmly fixed—from proto-Geometric times to the end of the eighth century. The lack of contact between tripods and shields makes it difficult to believe that they can be contemporary: the only example is the star inside a zigzag border, on the ' omphalos ' shield (Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* No. 27, pl. 34), which occurs on panelled tripods on the leg from Perachora, dated by Payne to the third quarter of the eighth century. The nicked fillets resemble those of tripod-handles (see No. 9 below): it is, however, a simple scheme of decoration which recurs later; Payne *BSA* XXIX, No. 60 bis. I suggest (pp. 53–4) a later date for the shields.

Whereas tripods elsewhere are generally connected with the sites of athletic meetings, the only evidence for such a connexion in Crete is the plastic vase from Prinias (Pernier, *Annuario*, I, fig. 39), which represents a chariot race beside (and probably for) a tripod. In tripod-legs of my class 3, panels do not occur in Crete, and the double-T-section is very rare.[1] The legs of the hammered tripods (*e.g.* No. 10) are not chased like those at Olympia (*Ol.* IV, p. 81, pl. XXXI). There is less difference in handles, but figurines on tripods seem to have been less popular in Crete. The commonest type of handle in Crete has open-work wedges.

TRIPOD-LEGS

Class 1. *Simple Sections.*

1. Pl. 21, fig. 1. Candia Museum [*CM*] 1343: H. 0·147 m. A complete leg.

2. Pl. 21, 2A–B. *CM* 1344, 1351, 1350: H. 0·14, 0·12, 0·10 m. W. 0·02 m. Tops of three legs, one of which fits a handle-plate and strap (fig. 2A): the other, a handle-plate, is fig. 2B. Legs probably taper; section uncertain. Traces of leg-struts. The handle-straps are of a simple type that continued long. Three nicked fillets. Cf. Ithaca Nos. 3 and 9; *BSA* XXXV, pl. 13, *a*, *d*.

[1] See my classification *BSA* XXXV, 92, 93 and the definition, p. 74 top. Fig. 45, no. 1, has a simple section and is classified accordingly. But it has no strut, and this makes its date uncertain. One from the Idaean Cave, without museum number, has the double-T-section.

Class 2. *Fancy Sections.*

3. Pl. 21, 3 and fig. 45, 3. *CM* 1336: H. 0·70 m. Complete leg. The hole in front was made after casting, and may be intended to accommodate a lion's foot: cf. Delphi 217, *Fouilles de Delphes* V, fig. 197·4, my class *a*; and Ithaca 9 of my class *c*, *BSA* XXXV pl. 13 *b*, *d*. One strut with an expanding end: *BSA* XXXV, 60, fig. 10a, 110, no. 6.

4. Pl. 21, 4. *CM* 1337. H. 0·662 m. The nail in front may be connected with a repair. Similar strut.

5. Pl. 21, 5. *CM* 1338. H. 0·143 m. End of a leg. Nicked fillets.

6. Pl. 22, 6 A, B. *CM* 848. H. 0·20, 0·19, 0·05 m. Three pieces of leg, *BSA* XXXV, pl. 12 *c*. On the side, two rows of spirals. The foot is pierced (Pl. 22, 6B); it carries a square shaft which fits the hub of a wheel. *CM* 898. Cf. tripod No. 3, *BSA* XXXV, p. 65, fig. 15, pl. 11a, and pls. 19, 4; 20, 5, cf. p. 88.

Class 3. *Double-T and Rectangular Sections.*

7. Fig. 45, 7. *CM* 1339: H. 0·268 m.

TRIPOD-HANDLES

8. Pl. 22, 8. No *CM* number. Piece of handle-strap: flat section, open work heavy zigzags.

9. Pl. 22, 9. *CM* 1365. D. 0·208 m. There is an unpublished fragment of a similar handle from Arkades.

Hammered Tripods.

10. Pl. 22, 10. *CM* 1340, 1341. Pieces of two legs.

TRIPOD-STAND

11. Pl. 29, 11. No *CM* number. End of the leg of a tripod-stand; the beginnings of the spandrils just show. The leg is strengthened by a centre fillet behind, as far as the spandrils. It is most like the stand from Karakakovilia found in Chamber-tomb 1, with proto-Geometric pottery: E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, pp. 123 ff., fig. 80, pl. xxxiv. For figurines on tripod-stands in Crete, see Praisos No. 28 (Pl. 30, 28 A, B, C) below.

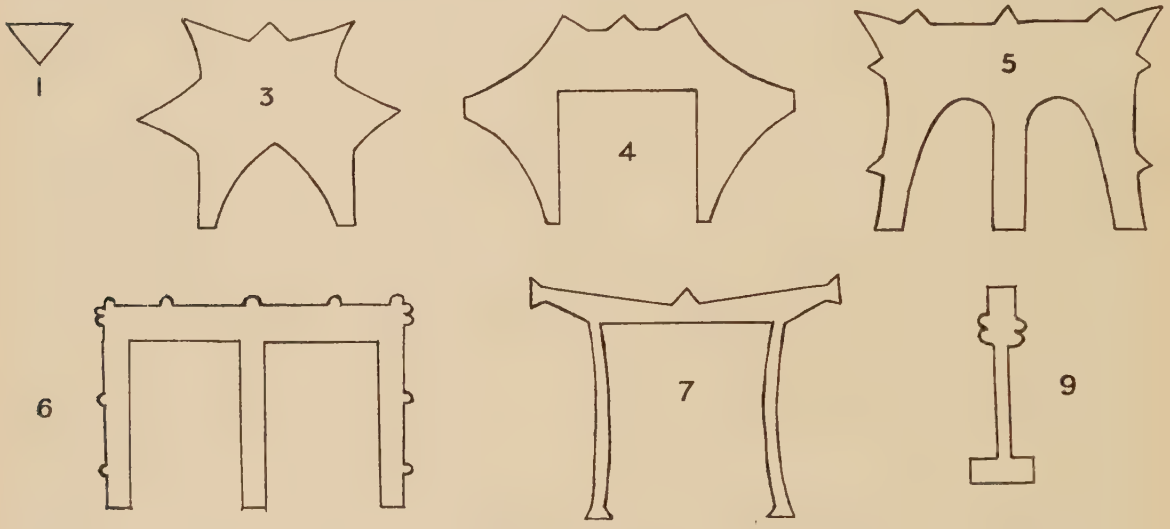

FIG. 45. CROSS-SECTIONS OF FRAGMENTS OF TRIPOD-CAULDRONS FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM.

The numerals are those of the objects described in the text.

SHIELDS

By kind permission of Dr. Kunze, I repeat in pls. 23, 25, 26 the photographs of the shields published by him (in *Kretische Bronzereliefs*) because I cannot hope to improve on them. The shields are arranged under the scheme set forth in *BSA* XXXIX 'On the Date of the Cretan Shields'. I have added a centre to No. 13 (pl. 24), which I think belongs to it; compare the centre of No. 16, pl. 26 below.

It is a pity that so many of the shields have been restored on a flat mounting. The minia-

ture shields have embossed centres, and the centre of Kunze No. 27 (pl. 34) stands off at right angles, as Kunze observes (p. 18). Compare also the well-preserved profile of a shield in Athens: Kunze No. 26 (pl. 33).

12. Pl. 23. *CM* 1305. Bosanquet *BSA* XI, p. 306, b. Kunze No. 59, pl. 45. Lower zone of a shield; stags grazing. Incision for lower contours, eye and a line below it, neck, and shoulder-blade (see the right-hand stag). Incised cable pattern. I take this to be the earliest Cretan shield. The style of incision on the stag is like that of an early ovoid aryballos, which also has a cable pattern, of similar effect but not incised (Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalere* [*P.V.*] pl. 9, 7). It is earlier in the drawing of the ears than the kotyle fragment, *PV* pl. 10, 3) a style of drawing found on more elaborate and therefore later Cretan shields; *e.g.* No. 13, pl. 24 below. For a geometric version of the animal, cf. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, pl. XIV, 1. *Early seventh century.*

13. Pls. 24, and 27, 13, A, B. *CM* 1306. Bosanquet, *BSA* XI, 306 a: Kunze, No. 40 (pl. 38, fig. 25, p. 154). There is a bad drawing in Pettazzoni, *Ausonia* IV, 1909, p. 204, fig. 36. Other references in Kunze, p. 22.

Outer frieze:—procession of grazing does, interrupted by a *Potnia Theron* rising from the ground and laying her hands on the leg and head of the nearest.

Inner frieze:—couchant does with reverted heads. They turn away from a griffin-bird and a sphinx. Between the griffin-bird (pl. 27, 13 B) and a sphinx, the does sit on the inside rim (pl. 27, 13 A); so this must be the top of the shield, as the others sit on the outside rim. The *Potnia* is not in the middle, and the animals of the outside row continue to walk quietly upside down.

The walking does are a little neater than the stags of No. 12 (pl. 23), and they have an additional incised line defining their haunches. Contrast them with the earlier does, whose hind legs are still shaky in the geometric manner, on an early aryballos at Naples (*PV* pl. 5, 5); early, but incision is already used for inner marking. After this vase, Corinth seems to have abandoned processions of does, but they are to be found in Boeotia on plastic pithoi. These pithoi[1] differ little in style or shape: all the human figures have much the same kind of hair, the same patterned garments, the same flat heads. Hampe's R1 may be a little before the middle of the century (cf. J. M. Cook, *BSA* XXXV, 209); R3 and R4 must be after it, for it is incredible that Boeotian potters of coarse vases should be more accomplished in drawing the human figure in silhouette than the artists of the Chigi *olpe* (*NC* p. 98, 1) and the Olympia corselet (*Ol.* IV, No. 641, pl. LVIII), who still thought that the back protruded nearly as much as the chest.

Mr. J. M. Cook, *BSA* XXXIV, p. 209, dates just before 650 B.C. a fragment in the black-and-white style, representing does (*BSA* XXXIV, p. 205 cf., fig. 9, p. 194, formerly in Athens). Does join in processions of mixed animals on Late Proto-Corinthian (*NC* pl. 10, 3) and Transitional vases (*NC* pl. 12, 1), but they are rare. They are not unlike the does on the later shields, such as Kunze No. 5 (pl. 9). The development of does on the shields is close to that elaborated for other animals:—(1) Palaikastro No. 12, above; (2) Kunze, No. 69, pl. 47; (3) Kunze, No. 5, which brings us to the elaborate and well-finished style.

The *Potnia* has a flat daedalid head, Hathor-curls,[2] a Cretan daedalid *protome* with high cheek-bones (cf. Apollo on the Axos *mitra*, pl. 28) and round eyes. Other Cretan revelations are: (1) on the Axos *mitra*, the head of Apollo over a tripod handle; (2) on a lid found at Knossos and dated by Payne (*JHS* 1932, 295, fig. 18) to the end of the eighth century, a head rising from the ground below a tripod, while Zeus thunders. Compare the *protome* on an early proto-Corinthian lid found at Ephesus (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 230; Johansen no. 23, p. 94).

The does, sitting and turning this way and that, are amusing. I can give no parallel for does with outstretched legs in archaic art. As Dr. Kunze has noticed, geometric deer tuck their legs in. Note, however, a goat stretching out one leg, on an archaic gold plaque from Eleusis (Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. 8).

The body of the crouching sphinx (pl. 27, 13 B) is extremely like that of the sphinx on an alabastron from Knossos (Payne, *JHS* 1933, p. 293, fig. 17) to be dated just before the middle of the seventh century. It is impossible to see what happens to the wings, but their start is clear and their end probably similar to those of the Knossos sphinx. The features of the sphinx are characteristically Cretan; for the heavy mouth compare the cut-out bronze in the Louvre (De Ridder, *Bronzes Antiques du Louvre*, pl. 11, nos. 93, 94; Lamb, *Gr. & R. Bronzes*, pl. xix.); for the turned-up nose see the Rethymnon *mitra*: Levi, *Annuario*, 1933. Bosanquet called it a 'griffin'; Kunze, a 'bird'. The creature has indubitably bird's beak and tail, but it has also a collar and four legs. There are two lines of incision, not visible from the angle of Kunze's photograph (see pl. 27, 13 B). It is possible that the artist changed his mind here, as he certainly did in Kunze, No. 43, pl. 39, where a stag's antlers are entangled with a bull's legs. *Second quarter of the seventh century.*

14. Pl. 25. *CM* 1304. Bosanquet, *BSA* XI 306, No. 1, pl. xvi; Kunze, No. 8, pls. 21, 23; see p. 13 on Bosanquet's drawing 21–23.

I agree with Dr. Kunze that the lion's mask (No. 15; Pl. 27, 15) is too big to belong to this shield.

But the central boss was certainly a feline head. Paws of this feline are planted firmly on the backs of two crouching sphinxes, who greet each other. Above, two rampant lions and a tree. Spiral ornament in the border between cables.

The frontal paws of the great feline look short and stubby beside the long thin claws of the sphinxes and lions, because they are fore-shortened. They crush down the forequarters of the cheerful, pliant sphinxes. High cheek-bones (cf. *BSA* XXXIX, 57), oval eye, double-volute ear, flat daedalid head, with a flat cap, and single lock of hair: cf. the hair of the

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[1] Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pls. 36–9, p. 56. Close dating of his R1 is impossible till it can be seen. Perseus' profile is vague on the close-up (pl. 38) but suspiciously clear on the far-away view (pl. 36)—the handiwork of the improver. A similar fragment in the Louvre is No. 928 of the Jacobsthal Collection of Photographs at Marburg. Other contacts of these vases with Crete are (1) the sacred tree (R1, pl. 38); (2) the octopus on the woman's dress (R3, pl. 37), cf. an octopus on a tripod-handle on the Axos *mitra* (pl. 28); (3) the hair (see above, p. 53). This Perseus scene, supported by a bestial but non-equine bronze in the Louvre, is insufficient evidence for a primitive horse-goddess. See Besig, *Gorgo and Gorgoneion*, p. 75, a useful book, but deifications are generally regrettable.

[2] Cf. the Hathor curls on an Egyptianizing gold plaque in a closed tomb at Veii containing proto-Corinthian vases, well-dated from the end of the second and the third quarter of the seventh century, including pointed aryballoi with scales. (Mengarelli, *Studi Etrusci*, I, pls. XXVII, XXVIII, p. 159, 160).

figures on Boeotian plastic pithoi; Hampe, pls. 36–38; see above, p. 53. Triangular palmette wings, for whose shape I can find no exact parallel. The austere shape tends to counteract the extreme richness of the ornament. Compare the severe sphinxes on the alabastron found at Knossos: Payne *JHS* 1932, fig. 17.

The splendid swing of the lions' bodies, carrying on the rhythm of the sphinxes, makes this the most beautiful of all the shields. Although these lions are so ornamental, the lines are just those of the lions on the Axos mitra. The lions on the Olympia corselets (*Ol.* IV, pls. XLVIII, XLIX) are more heraldic, but it is essentially the same animal, and back we have to come to the stiffer lion of the Chigi *olpe*.

Dr. Kunze (pp. 118–23) gives a long history of the spiral ornament. Similar spirals occur: (1) in a loose chain on a Prinias frieze (*Annuario* I, fig. 19); (2) well bound together, on the Cretan aryballos with a plastic head in Berlin [1] (middle of the seventh century); (3) in a close chain, on a ring-vase in the British Museum [2] of the second quarter of the century. On the back of the ring-vase is a cable with a good deal of incision; cf. the chain on a Corinthian aryballos of the first black-figure style (*PV* pl. 9, 5). Dr. Kunze compared the tree between the lions to a stiff structure on a polychrome vase at Knossos, but in its free growth it is much nearer to a white-on-black oinochoe of the seventh century (Payne, *BSA* XXIX, pl. XI, 78) which has also a chain and an advanced cable. *Middle of the seventh century.*

15. Pl. 27, 15. *CM* 1320. Bosanquet, *BSA* XI, No. 1; Kunze, No. 15, pl. 29. Scrap of a lion's muzzle from the centre of a shield. A hole evidently served to secure an eye-filling: cf. Kunze, No. 4, pl. 6. Dr. Kunze places this scrap in his class B. It is of a plain type, the straightforward schematic muzzle-decoration of a Hittite lion like Kunze, No. 11; pores indicated by spots. *Middle of the seventh century.*

16. Pls. 26 and 27, 16. *CM* 1307. Bosanquet, p. 306 c., Kunze, No. 29 (pl. 35). A procession of stalking lions. Kunze says that the animals preyed upon (p. 170, fig. 27) are does, but his draughtsman has drawn them with round cats' ears. Actually the round ear of the top left-hand beast is a modern nail. A line of incision, just visible on my photograph, indicates that the animal has a long ear, and is in fact a doe or stag. The front lion of the procession has it firmly by the mouth. Again the photograph shows that the mouths of the two beasts overlap: no gingerly touching, still less mere threatening. The paw of the lion is also set firmly on the deer's shoulder. The animal below this deer really has cats' ears, and so is not a deer but another lion. It is not sitting meekly by, but roaring over the head of yet another creature, which it has pulled down and is about to devour. The lowest animal looks dead, and a suspicion of branching horns suggests a stag. The zone shows a raid—a stealthy advance in single file ending in a rough-and-tumble. Such a scene is impossible before the middle seventh century B.C. The lions are unpleasant slug-like creatures: the theme of the animal frieze has worn out in Crete. *Third quarter of the seventh century.*

Miniature Shields.

17–28. Pl. 27, 17. Twelve plain miniature shields with raised centres. They have punctured dots for attachment to their linings, and two holes for suspension. There are two such shields from Mouliana, Tomb B., found with Transition pottery (Xanthoudides, Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1904, p. 45) another from Vrokastro (E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 102, 6, fig. 58 H.).

29. Pl. 29, 29. *CM* 1312. Similar in shape, ornamented with a zigzag.

Helmets

Life-Size.

30. Pl. 29, 30 A, B. *CM* 871. With holes for eyes and mouth; and a fragment of the other cheek-piece. *Second half of the seventh century.*

Miniature.

31. Pl. 28, 31. *CM* 1322. Cap-helmet. Made in two parts; broad at the top, with ornamental fillets round it. *Seventh century.*

Figurines

Lion.

32. Pl. 29, 29, 32 A, B. *CM* 1355: L. 0.07 m. W. 0.024 m. Bosanquet, p. 306, No. 3, 307. From the temple site X. 18. Made hollow and filled with lead, nailed down by the paws. Part of the haunch and one paw broken. Left paws higher than the right; a ring behind. Bosanquet (p. 307) attributed it to a tripod-cauldron, but figurines known to belong to these vessels are cast solid and are more primitive (*BSA* XXXV, 88, pl. 24, 4). The lion is too broad to sit on anything but a *dinos*; the shape of the tripod-lebes (*l.c.* 67, fig. 17) will not accommodate it. Hittite type.

Lead-filled animals without a ring sit looking out from kraters of the sixth century: (Filow, *Trebenischte* 52, fig. 49). Payne suggested the connexion of this lion with the sirens (Kunze, 267) who also have a ring behind for a handle, and look into *dinoi*.

This lion has companions at Delphi (*FdD*, IV, nos. 171–3). The oldest (no. 172, Delphi Museum No. 3579) has a long face, a furrowed brow (more advanced, therefore, than the Palaikastro lion), and a ring. The next (No. 173; *FdD*, IV, pl. XIV, 9) has better modelling and his muzzle is incised; he has a ring. The last (No. 171, Delphi Museum No. 3778, *FdD*, IV, pl. XIV, 8) has still more incision and is without ring.

The enormous size of the head of the Palaikastro lion is characteristic of a certain stage of proto-Corinthian drawing, which is also characterized by few inner markings. One of the felines on an aryballos of this period and style, from the Argive Heraeum, is frontal (Johansen, p. 91, 2, pl. XX, 3: cf. pl. XXI). This lion is therefore to be dated at the beginning of the seventh century (see *BSA* XXXIX, p. 54, pl. 25, 1–2).

Large heads continued to be characteristic of Cretan lions. The too-large heads of the ' panthers ' of the shield Kunze, No. 2 (pl. 5) have the same sinister effect; cf. the size of the heads of felines on the Olympia corselets (*Ol.* IV, pls. LXVIII, XLIX). Lions were popular at Palaikastro, but none are very close to this bronze.

[1] Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 44; Neugebauer, *Vasen in Berlin*, pl. 10, F307. On the strength of this vase, an ivory disc found at Lapithos (Gjerstad *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, pl. 21, 4 (Tomb 417) must be Cretan.

[2] *BSA* XXXIX, pl. 25; it is also figured, Kinch, *Vroulia*, fig. 20 *a*, *b*, p. 46, and mentioned by Dr. Kunze, p. 122, note 176.

Statue.

33. Pl. 28, 33. *CM* 1321. Part of the torso of a *sphyrelaton* male statue, wearing a belt; cf. Praisos No. 3, below. This bronze is catalogued as part of a votive corselet, but Professor Beazley pointed out to me how unusual it is for a corselet to terminate below the belt while still decreasing. Such armour would cut the body unmercifully. Contrast *Olympia* IV, 979, pl. LX, and compare the body of the Goddess from Auxerre (Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 23) which continues to decrease till the bottom of the belt. Above the belt, the musculature of the Palaikastro bronze is more like a tentative effort to represent the human body, than the bold conscious conventionality shown by corselets early (*Ol.* IV, c. pl. XLVIII) and late (Zervos, *L'art en Grèce*, Nos. 225–228). The Olympia corselet (*Ol.* IV, pl. XLIX) appears to decrease violently, but it only does so on one side where it has been bent: contrast the corselets from Praisos, below p. 57; and pl. XI. The legs would have been hitched on below the belt, and no doubt swelled out suddenly like those of the Dreros *kouros* (*BCH* 1936, pl. LXIII) or the Tyszkiewicz bronze (*Monuments Piot* II, p. 137, pl. XV: new photograph *Master-Bronzes*, No. 65). Slightly later than the Dreros *kouros*. *Middle of the seventh century.*

Part of a face.

33a. Pl. 28 A. *CM* 1415: H. 0·106 m. thickness 0·005 m. Chipped in two places; elsewhere the edge is unbroken. It is hollow behind and was made as a fragment; it is not part of a statue. This object was not found in the excavation, but was bought in 1906, from a workman who said it had been found near Palaikastro. it is probably ancient, as it was found so early in the operations. The mouth and nose resemble those of crude terracotta heads found at Vrokastro,[1] but this may be chance. It is so poor that it is undateable by style. I publish it in case more may be learned about it in the future.

Miscellaneous

Knot-headed pin.

34. Pl. 29, 34. *CM* 864. H. 0·122 m. Dawkins, *BSA Suppl.* I, 1923, 121. One coil, three times whipt round the pin. An early home of this type of pin is in Egypt (Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 52, pl. LXV, 108); it occurs in Bohemia in the Early Bronze-Age (Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation*, p. 192, fig. 89) and it has been supposed that it reached Bohemia via Troy.[2] It is often called Cypriot (Childe, Ebert, Bittel), though few examples have been published from Cyprus.[3] Nine examples have been found in Greece,[4] of which only two (from the Psychro cave in Crete) are likely to have had a Bronze-Age context—and yet not very likely, for pins of any kind are rare in the Cretan Bronze Age. A loop of wire with the end coiled haphazard round the pin is common among the Psychro bronzes in Oxford. Such a device may have been invented in Crete and many other places where clothes required pins.

It is noteworthy that although these Greek pins cannot be connected with the Aunjetitz culture, they had a similar development, which is easier to trace in Greece than in Bohemia. Two pins from Perachora are cast replicas of the twisted pin (*Perachora*, pl. 76, 2 and 4: 1, 3 twisted pin; 2, 4 (cast replicas). Compare also two cast pins from Aegina (Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pl. 114, 19, 20), and two at Lusio (Reichel and Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte* 1901, p. 54, fig. 93 and 95). The pin *Perachora*, pl. 76, No. 5, is a further development, which should be compared with the Danubian pin (Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, pl. IX, type A2; the cast imitation of the twisted pin A1). The Greek pins then grow more and more fantastic, see *Olympia* 488, another example from Lusoi (*l.c.* fig. 54), and then the series with a loop or hole, often in the form of a bird or animal on the top of a cage, of which several were found in Ithaca and many at Velestino in Thessaly.

Fibulae.

35–6. Pl. 29, 35–6. *CM* 1390–91: L. ·082, ·05 m. Nearly semicircular bow, of rhomboid section; catch-plate and pin broken. Cf. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Type II, 3 a, cf. Praisos No. 42.

Mirror Handle or Patera Handle.

37. Pl. 27, 37. *CM* 1140. Beaded design a favourite decoration on miniature votive mirrors: round handles are common in the Peloponnese: Cf. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 159, fig. 2; cf. the mirror from Sparta.

Vase Handles.

38. Pl. 38, 38. Hydria handle. Incised, little modelling. Our handle is most like the earliest handle with palmette decoration, the fragment from Olympia (*Ol.* IV, pl. LIV, 899) quoted by Polites, Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1936, 163: but it is distinctly earlier, less spread out, less plastic. A closer parallel is given by a palmette from a *lebes*-handle from the Idaean Cave (Halbherr and Orsi, *Museo Italiano* II, *Plates*, 12, 2 and 14. This in its turn has affinities with an early hydria handle from the Cave. (*l.c.* 53). It seems unlikely that Laconia had a monopoly of *hydria*-handles with palmettes, and as Neugebauer long ago suggested (A.A. 1925, 181), the origin may be Cretan, for the earliest handle-rosette known to me (incised on a *lebes*-handle) (*BSA* XXXV, 87 fig. 6 *b*) was found in Crete and has affinity with our handle. This is the earliest palmette-handle known to me, probably not much after 600 B.C. In my view, Pendlebury (*The Archaeology of Crete*, p. 339) under-values Cretan metal-workers of the sixth century, for there are at least four figurines from the Idaean cave, too beautiful to be classed as anyone's poor relations: two runners, a sphinx, and a lion (Halbherr, *l.c.*, pp. 47, 58; Levi, *Annuario* X–XII, figs. 667, 668, 608.

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[1] *CM* 6651. E. Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 112, fig. 63; found in room 26 in a geometric context: cf. fig. 60, c.

[2] Troy, two examples, Schmidt, *Schliemann's Sammlung* 6403, 6404. The pin from *Thermi*, Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, pl. XXV, 30, 13, quoted by Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, p. 50 is not knot-headed.

[3] I have only seen two (1) Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Nitovikla Tomb 1, 30, of Late Middle Cycladic (M.C. III): (2) Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible, and Homer*, pl. CXLVI, 3, β, n. from Phoinikiais.

[4] (2) From Praisos No. 34, below. The prehistoric remains from Praisos are so scanty that the pin must be referred to the geometric epoch: (3) from Psychro (Bosanquet, *BSA* VI, p. 112, fig. 45) in the Candia Museum: (5, 6) from Perachora (pl. 76, 1 and 3 also on pl. 136, 5, by the kindness of Mr. T. J. Dunbabin): (7, 8) from Olympia (*Ol.* IV, pl. XXV, No. 492, with a broad head, and inventory 2658, p. 67): (9) from Tegea (Dugas, *BCH* 1921, p. 376, fig. 39, 108).

Bronzes of Minoan Date from Palaikastro

39. Fig. 46, No. 39. *CM* 1420: H. 0·08 m. Bull, with head raised, feet planted firmly outwards, sharp dewlap, prominent genitals, like a bull found at Hagia Triada, in Candia Museum; blurred naturalistic features not unlike those of the terracotta bull. Contrast the Hellenic bull from Praisos No. 30 (Pl. 30, 30) below.

40. Fig. 46, No. 40. No *CM* number. Pin with seated dog as head, figured and described, *BSA Suppl.* I. 1923, pp. 122–3, fig. 101.

41. [Not figured]. Head of a similar bull.

42–4. [Not figured]. Two fragmentary figures of votaries, male and female, and a miniature female figure, are figured, *BSA Suppl.* I., 1923, p. 122, figs. 102–3–4.

33A

39

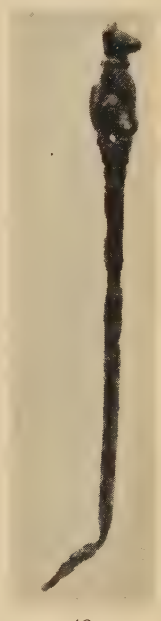

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Fig. 46.

No. 33*a*. Minoan Bronze Statuette: Praisos (p. 58, below).
No. 39. Minoan Bronze Statuette: Palaikastro.
No. 40. Minoan Bronze Pin with Seated Dog as head; Palaikastro. *Compare BSA Suppl.* I. 1923, p. 122, fig. 100.

§ 9. BRONZES FROM PRAISOS

Cast Tripod-Cauldrons

Handle. Flat section, open wedges (Class B. δ: *BSA* XXXV, 93).

1. Pl. 32, 1. *CM* 651; diam. 0·125 m. About a quarter of a handle, one stay visible, repaired in antiquity. Rather small open wedges. The most popular type of handle in Crete: there are six from the Idaean Cave and one from Arkades. From Acropolis III: Bosanquet, *BSA* VIII, p. 259.

Miniature Shields

There are about eleven of these in the Candia Museum, and some flat discs of unknown use: cf. Palaikastro, No. 29 (Pl. 29, 29) pl. 7, from Palaikastro. I have been unable to find any of these which Bosanquet describes as having a ' raised central *umbo*.'

Corselets

For the dates of these and similar corselets, see pp. 81–2, below.

Miniature.

2. Pl. 31, 2. *CM* 631. H. 0·113 m. Bosanquet, pl. X. Front of a cylindrical corselet; primitive with little modelling; no inner details. *First half of the seventh century.*

3–10. Pl. 31 c. *CM* 840. Halbherr, *AJA*, 1901, p. 384. Front of a more advanced corselet: it narrows to the waist, and has a good deal of modelling, particularly in the breast-covers, which Halbherr's drawing represents as mere stylized incisions. I have added a photograph of this corselet because Nierhaus (*JDI*, 1938, p. 106, 1), thinks it earlier than Nos. 2–10, which he attributes to the sixth century. It was found by Halbherr. *Middle of the seventh century.*

11–12. Similar.

13. Pl. 31, 13. *CM* 870. Back of a corselet, joined to a front like Nos. 11–12. Note the modelling on the shoulder blades like that of the Crown corselet (see below p. 81).

14. Another, fragmentary but similar.

Life-size Corselets.

15. *CM* 869. Part of a front of similar types to No. 11.

16. Pl. 32, 16. Breast cover from a still more elaborate corselet: cf. *Olympia* IV, 974, pl. LX.

Helmets

Miniature.

17. Pl. 31, 17. *CM* 625. H. 0·138. Bosanquet, pl. X. This is a 'stove-pipe' helmet, of the most primitive model. Kukahn (*Der Griechische Helm*, p. 15. Cf. Dohan, *Met. Studies III*, figs. 1 and 2) placed it at the beginning of his list of Cretan helmets (p. 16). The helmet sits too high on the neck to need a turn-out at the bottom. See p. 79.
End of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century.

18–22. Similar but smaller.

23. Pl. 32, 23. *CM* 629. Bosanquet, p. 258, pl. X. Corinthian helmet with eyeholes; the bottom is beginning to turn out, but has no slits. There was no nose-piece. *Early seventh century.*

Mitrai

24. *CM* 641. Bosanquet, pl. X, centre. Plain but similar in shape to the Axos *mitrai* with figured representations, which can be dated to the middle of the seventh century (see below p. 82).

25. *CM* 874. Bosanquet, pl. X foot. Similar but smaller.

26, 27. No *CM* numbers. Bosanquet, pl. X, below and on each side of the large *mitra*. Uncertain objects.

Figurines

28. Pl. 30, 28 a, b, c. *CM* 902; [4146]. H. 0·09 m. Nude, sitting figure from Acropolis I. Arms broken, but probably down by the side. Mark of support below feet: which end in a blur, and below is an irregular socket. Clearly defined features—contrast those of Mycenaean bronze statuettes, *e.g.*, fig. 46, 33*a* (p. 56); the sex is uncertain, probably female: catalogued as male, and so described in a manuscript note by Bosanquet. But the same figurine is catalogued as No. 1416 from Palaikastro and said to be female. From the note-books it seems to be certain that there is only one statuette and that it was found at Praisos, near no. 29 below. Bosanquet suggested that it was the steersman of a boat.

Early sitting bronze statuettes are rare. The figure *Olympia* IV, No. 256, and an unpublished bronze from Zakynthos, which have one hand raised, are probably driving chariots. Prof. Jacobsthal has called my attention to a bronze sitting male statuette which was in Paris and is said to have been found in Crete (Marburg, Jacobsthal Collection No. 1396). The statuette is nude. I can offer no explanation of its attitude: perhaps a Minoan salute. The best parallel is the small figure from the Idaean Cave sitting at a corner, and eating out of a porringer (Halbherr and Orsi, *Museo Italiano*, p. 43). I have suggested already elsewhere that the Idaean figure may have sat on the corner of a wheeled tripod-stand. The Palaikastro figure may have occupied a similar position. If so, the socket under the feet may be intended for part of a leg or spandril, and perhaps a bowl concealed the carelessness about the front of the body, and the undefined sex. This statuette is not more carelessly made than the Idaean fragments, and it is interesting as a predecessor of the nude goddesses on the shields. The hair has traces of incised streaks like the hair of the Dreros statues. *BCH* 1936, pl. LXIII. Pendlebury (*The Archaeology of Crete*, p. 337), misled by the false analogy of Minoan dress, has not noticed the embroidery on the torsos of the female statues. The face is tilted a little in the Geometric manner: Benton, *BSA* XXXV, 86. The ears are prominent. The head is round, and so is the face, which has nothing daedalic about it. Clumsy collar-bones. The knees are stylized by little points, like knees on the Cretan shields (Kunze, No. 6, pl. 17) and early proto-Corinthian vases (*PV* pl. ii, 4, 5). The eyes are pellets stuck on. The most striking and the ugliest feature is the thick neck, a technical blemish found even in fine statuettes of a later period. (1) *Fouilles de Delphes* V, pl. 1, 7. (2) Tyszkiewicz bronze at Boston, *Monuments Piot* II, p. 137, pl. XV; new photograph, *Master Bronzes*, No. 65; (3) in the Dreros male statue.
Close dating is impossible; perhaps about 700 B.C.

29. Pl. 30, 29 a, b, c. *CM* 905. Lion, from Acropolis I. Cast hollow; a big hole in the middle and two small holes in the head. Attached to some straight object. The position of the holes rather recalls those on an ivory lion found at Samaria; J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Samaria-Sebaste*, 2: *Early Ivories*, 1938, p. 24, Pl. IX, 1. The authors suggest that this may have stood on the steps or the arms of a throne. A very different lion, of ivory, from Praisos, is figured for comparison: Pl. 30, 1. *Early sixth century.*

30. Pl. 30, 30. *CM* 1420: L. 0·083 m. Bull. Head lowered; back legs made in a solid block, and front hoofs also together. Short horns and ears, eyes stylized, hair shown between the horns. Broken off from something.
Early seventh century.

Statues

31. Pl. 31, 31. *CM* 879: L. 0·20 m.; 880. Two legs of a hammered statue. Signs of modelling at the knee, and a kind of gusset above the instep. The statue must have been shorter in the leg than the Dreros *kouros*.

32. No *CM* number. Probably a piece, near the arm, of the same, or a similar statue. It is not cut like the pieces of the Dreros statue; but the cutting no doubt varied.

33. *CM* 640. Part of the breast of a similar statue. It has no edge, is thicker, shows more modelling, and is probably later.

33*a*. Fig. 46, 33*a* (p. 56 above). Small nude male figure, with long pig-tail, in attitude of adoration, with right hand raised to face; left hand by side. Very slender proportions and poor Minoan workmanship: probably votive. Found at Praisos before the excavations. Compare other evidence of a Minoan sanctuary at Praisos, p. 43, and Pl. 20 B.

Small Objects

Pins.

34. Pl. 32, 34. *CM* 918: H. 0·086. Knot-headed pin. Two coils. See on No. 34 from Palaikastro, above p. 55.

35. Pl. 32, 35. *CM* 919: H. 0·058. Pin with a coiled head. This is a central European type (*e.g.* J. L. Pič, *Die Urnengräber Böhmens*, pl. XXIV) of oriental origin, but is too simple and too widespread to repay close study.

36. Pl. 32, 36. *CM* 916. H. 0·056, diameter of disc 0·008 m. Disc-headed pin. Incised zigzag on the head. The disc is solid (Marshall *BSA* XII, 69). A similar pin was found at Psychro, but pins with a plain disc of foil were commoner there; from the latter pin develops the silver pin S 2 illustrated pl. 32, a type also found at Psychro (*BSA* VI, 112).

Fibulae

Following Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales*, I classify the fibulae of Praisos as follows:—I. 'Safety-pin' fibula No. 37; II. Plain 'hump-backed' (*i.e.* nearly semicircular) fibula No. 38: so simple a type no doubt also lived on; in an Arnoaldi tomb in the Bologna Museum it is found substantially unaltered with r. f. vases. Early 'leech' fibula No. 39. Both II and III have been found at Vrokastro with proto-geometric pottery, and fibulae like No. 39, but smaller, with geometric pottery. III. 'Beaded' fibulae, Nos. 40, 41, 42, of a type which overlaps No. 39, but is not found with geometric pottery at Vrokastro.

37. Pl. 32, 37. *CM* 699: L. 0·058 m. Bosanquet, *BSA* VIII, 244. 'Safety-pin' fibula with three others attached, of rather the same type. The bow is quite flat. Intermediate between Blinkenberg 1*a* and 7*a*, but there are the additional features of (*a*) the long pin, a feature found also in the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios at Velestino in Thessaly, and (*b*) the hangers-on, also found at Velestino (Blinkenberg, p. 113, fig. 128, VI, 3*b*) and at Lindos (p. 196, fig. 218, X, 1 f.); both (*a*) and (*b*) suggest a fairly late date. The fibula was found at Praisos in Chamber-Tomb A, and some of the context belongs to the seventh century, *e.g.* the pear-shaped proto-Corinthian aryballos (Bosanquet, p. 243).

38. Pl. 32, 38. *CM* 899: L. ·08 m. 'Hump-backed' fibula, a simple type which lasted long; *cf.* Blinkenberg, II, 4*a*, fig. 34.

39. Pl. 32, 39. *CM* 868: L. 0·111. Pin broken; hexagonal. From Acropolis III.

40. Pl. 32, 40. *CM* 1058: L. 0·04 m. Droop (*BSA* XII, p. 33, fig. 10). Beaded fibula; found in tomb 53 with geometric pottery.

41. Pl. 32, 41. No *CM* number. Fibula with five beads (Blinkenberg, type III, 10).

42. Pl. 32, 42. *CM* 647: L. 0·05 m. Similar, with a cube above the catch, as in Bl. III, 12.

Objects of Silver

Band with Ornament in Relief.

S. 1. Pl. 30, 51 A, B. *CM* 801: from tomb 28. Marshall, *BSA* XII 63. Probably from a crown or head ornament, *cf.* the silver ornaments found on the skull in tomb 31: Marshall, p. 28. The three fragments must belong to the same object, as their style is identical. The relief ornament shows Bellerophon on Pegasos, confronting a lion; above is Athena, of Parthenos type, with owl's wings on her helmet. *Late fifth century.*

For Bellerophon on Pegasos, cf. *B.M. Coins of Corinth*, p. 11, no. 116, pl. II, 22. For the facing head of Athena, (1) *B.M. Coins of the Peloponnesus* (Same 4) pl. XVIII, 12: (2) a terracotta disc in the British Museum; Marshall, *B.M. Jewellery* No. 2148, refers to Furtwängler, *Sabouroff Collection* pl. CXLV where there are other references.

For friezes of animals on crowns, cf. the crown in Athens, said to be from a grave in Boeotia, published by Wolters, Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1892, pl. XII; also those said to be from another grave in Boeotia in Berlin (Furtwängler, *AA* 1891, p. 124, fig. 12).

Payne (*NC.*, p. 224–6) noted the resemblance of the crown in Athens to some of the unpublished bronzes from Eleutherae in the British Museum, but thought that a later feature, a comb on a griffin, which he considered certainly of fifth century style, had been introduced into a matrix of seventh century style (Payne, p. 229, fig. 104 *a*). The impression of the comb is faint, as if from a much worn (not from a restored) part of the mould. But why fifth century? The comb is not like fifth-century combs (*see* Roscher, p. 1771); combs occur on griffins before the fifth century, *B.M. Coins of Ionia*, (Teos) pl. XXX, 2; and they are common on other seventh-century animals. In any case, griffins with combs appear on Assyrian reliefs in the British Museum of the time of Assur-nazir-pal (ninth century; Schaeffer-Andrae, *Die Kunst der alten Orient*, 498); they are not an invention of the fifth century. Moreover, they are

feathered combs, and in the bronzes from Eleutherae some of the creatures have feathered wings. The drawings give a good presentation of animals in the style of Late Protocorinthian-Transitional vases of the third quarter of the seventh century. Here then at Praisos we have a crown two hundred years later rather different in shape.

As Payne notes, some of the floral patterns on strips in London and crowns in Athens are identical. The published drawings, however, idealize their style, which is Corinthian, not proto-Corinthian. Payne favoured the attribution of all the Eleutherae bronzes, with their varying styles (some certainly belong to the fifth century), to the same object. It is easier to think of them as all intended for the same purpose—crowns for the dead—so that in the Eleutherae bronzes we are dealing with an undertaker's stock in trade, crowns by the yard, some of them very old-fashioned. Otherwise, why are funereal rosettes like those of the Boeotian crowns associated with the strips from Eleutherae both in Athens and in London? Cf. Bather, *JHS* 1892, p. 253, fig. 24.

Pins.

S. 2–5. Pl. 32, S. 2. Marshall, *BSA* XII, 69, fig. 4 centre. A disc-headed pin, from tomb 31. The head is made of thin silver foil beaten up at the edge. It is rather liable to come off, an accident which has happened to the other pin of the pair. I have not been able to trace the amphora which was found in tomb 9 (Marshall, p. 63); but a pair of similar pins was found in tomb 31 with b.f. vases (p. 64).

DICTE AND THE TEMPLES OF DICTAEAN ZEUS

This memorandum, written before 1910 by the late Professor R. C. Bosanquet, seems to have been intended as a historical introduction to the definitive report of the British School's excavations at Praisos and Palaikastro. Some sections have been revised by the Curator of Knossos, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson.

1. *The Eteocretan Peninsula.* [R.C.B.]

The island of Crete contracts towards its eastern end into an isthmus only eight miles across. Here, on its southern shore, lies the ancient town of Hierapytna, which in the later Hellenistic age rose to great power and prosperity, and ruled most of the region to the east. The broad strath which connects the two seas must have formed a convenient portage from the earliest times. Bronze-Age settlements abound on both shores of the isthmus. Even on the islet of Pseira, lying two miles out to sea in the Gulf of Mirabello, there was a thriving village at the beginning of the Late Minoan period—a settlement so disproportionate to the size of the island that, as I have suggested elsewhere, its prosperous houses can best be explained as the homes to which sailors of the Minoan fleet returned when winter closed the seas to navigation.

West of the isthmus rises the horse-shoe mass of the Lasithi mountains, capped with snow far into the summer and only less imposing than the slightly higher groups, Ida and the White Mountains, which dominate the centre and west of the island. To the north-west extends an indented, island-fringed coastline backed by lower hills, the territory in ancient days of such minor cities as Istron, Lato, Olus, and Milatos, mother-city of the great Miletus: all forming today the province which bears and deserves the Venetian name of Mirabello.

Eastward lies the province of Sitia, called after its chief port, which lies on the north coast and preserves, as we shall see, the memory of an ancient harbour town of the same name. Its mountains rise in steep, naked escarpments from the strath; the highest peak, the Mountain of the Lord, reaches 4780 feet, and is crowned by a gleaming white chapel of the Holy Cross. On September 20, when the shepherds of Ida meet for service and dance about their rude, slab-built church 8100 feet above the sea, the peasants of western Sitia are making a night pilgrimage to the peak of Effendi Kavusi. Eastward the range sinks lower and the island widens; mountain villages, as picturesque as any in the Mediterranean, perch on the banks of foaming streams, and suggest the thought that some day these highlands may become the sanatorium or the playground of Egypt. Higher still are single huts or whole hamlets embowered in vines; for in this warm region, half-way between Europe and Africa, the best wine is grown at 2000 feet or more above the sea.

Fifteen miles east of the Hierapytna Isthmus the Eteocretan country is intersected by two deep valleys which run north and south and form a natural line of communication from sea to sea. Between them rises a conspicuous conical hill, the Acropolis of Praisos, communal centre and stronghold of the Eteocretans. The site is almost encircled by two streams; a mile to the north of it their deeply-scored gorges meet, and the united stream flows peacefully between thickets of plane and oleander till it reaches the sea at Sitia.

To the east of Praisos rises the bare butt-end of Crete, a limestone table-land dotted

with small villages. Their inhabitants subsist by cultivating such basins in the plateau as still retain a covering of soil, and descend in winter to richer lands on the coast plains opening to east and south.

Such is the region in which a remnant of the old population of Crete, the Eteo- or True-Cretans, maintained their independence and preserved their language, down to the second century before our era.

I take this opportunity of correcting a slip of A. J. Reinach. Discussing my identification of Palaikastro with Heleia, he says, what is quite untrue, that I formerly held Palaikastro to be the site of Itanos (*Revue des Études Grecques*, XXIV, 385, ' *Rappelons qu'il croyait d'abord y trouver Itanos* '). He refers only to *BSA* XI, 298, but I had foreshadowed my view about Heleia, with fuller arguments, in *BSA* VIII, 288, immediately after my first season at Palaikastro. The view which Reinach attributed to me was Bursian's view in 1872, *Geogr. v. Griechenland* II, 576–7. But in 1890 Halbherr proved the equation Eremopoli = Itanos (*Mus. Ital.* III, 561 ff.; *Antiquary* Nov. and Dec. 1891), which has been accepted ever since. It is true that Dittenberger, *Sylloge* II, No. 462 (1900) = 526 (ed. 3, 1915), repeated Bursian's view, but only through an oversight. He describes the inscription containing the Itanians' oath of fealty to their city as ' inventa Itani (Palaeokastro) '; it was really found at Eremopoli and brought to Toplu monastery, where Halbherr copied it (*Mus. Ital.* III, 563 f. *l.c.* 564). In 1900 de Margne found further inscriptions at Eremopoli, as I noted in *JHS* XX, 172, which confirmed Halbherr's identification. When the British School applied for the right of excavating at Palaiskastro in 1902 it had two objects in view: to excavate the Minoan town, and to search in the neighbourhood for the Temple of Dictaean Zeus. The confusion is made worse by the statement in Pauly-Wissowa Ia, p. 1988, *s.v. Salmone* that Itanos is ' bei Eremopolis oder Paliokastron festgelegt,' as though the two places were one.

A few words must be said about the position of Dragmos, a petty state mentioned in the Toplou inscription. Obviously Dragmos lay somewhere near the east coast, and some geographers have identified it with Palaikastro, which we, following Halbherr, believe to have been Heleia (Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* II, 576–7, Halbherr *Museo Italiano* III, 561 ff.). The only clue to the site of Dragmos is afforded by the first of the three boundary agreements beginning ὡς ὁ Σέδαμνος ἐς Καρύμας quoted in the Toplou inscription, and stating the boundary between Dragmos and Itanos. The name Καρούμαις is still given to a cove two miles south of Cape Plaka, where a small river, probably the Sedamnos, has cut its way through the limestone rampart. At the south end of this little bay are caves and cave-deposits extending 150 yards along the foot of the limestone cliffs. In another cave a little farther to the south-east along the coast Miss Dorothy Bate found remains of Pleistocene date: *Geological Magazine* V, ii. (1905), p. 199, with the spelling Kharoumes; cf. notes on ' *The Caves of Crete* ' embodied by A. Trevor-Battye, *Camping in Crete*, p. 239 ff.

According to Spratt, the hamlet now called Κοχλακίες (which we might perhaps translate as ' The Cobbles ') bore the name Karouba about 1850; he connected the name with that of the carob-tree, an obvious error, since the latter is called χαρουπία in the modern tongue. It seems clear that the old name of the settlement where the gorge widens out more than a mile from the sea was Καρούμαι. Similarly the name Zakro is shared by a main village on the inland plain and a hamlet at the river mouth, sometimes distinguished as Ἄνω and Κάτω Ζάκρο. Mariani (*Mon. Linc.* VI, 298) gives rightly Karoumai: Burchner gives both bay and village correctly on his map (*P.W.* Ia., p. 1988), but not in his article (Καρύμαι,

ib. X, 2253). A map in the British Museum dated about 1560 has Porto di Karues, and a later one (1668?) has Porto di Carumes. Other maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give *Caroumes*, *Caruba*, and *Carabusa*. Lafie's map (1825), based on the observations of a competent naval officer, and very superior to all its predecessors, has Golfe de *Caroube* ou *Caroumes*. Spratt, I, 234, gives *Karoub*, *Karouba*, and on his map Carouba; Kiepert (1897) has *Karrubes*, Miss Bate *Kharoumes*; Aspington Bullen (*Geological Mag.*, III, 1906, p. 355) follows Spratt and imagines a connexion with *Azokiramo* (better *Azokeramo*), the next village south of *Kochlakies*.

2. *Where was Dicte?* [R.W.H.]

Since Dicte was reported to have been the birthplace of Zeus, it may seem strange that geographers should differ in its identification.

Our oldest and best authority, Hesiod (*Theogony*, 477), tells how Rhea carried her new-born babe to Lyktos, and thence to a cave in Mount Aigaion, which Hogarth supposed to have been the north-west peak of the Lasithi mountain, a spur that overhangs Lyktos and hides the summit from view.

Recent excavations by the late J. D. S. Pendlebury have strengthened the evidences for regarding Lasithi as a religious centre, and we may, I think, identify it with Hesiod's 'Aegean Mount,' but this assumption does not demand that we should identify both with Dicte. The number of mountains whereon 'Zeus was born' almost rivals that of the houses wherein Queen Elizabeth stayed (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 149–54).

Aratus (*Phenomena*, pp. 32 ff.) complicates the issue by saying that Zeus was reared 'in fragrant Dicton in a cave near Mount Ida', for which the scholiast suggests Mount Aigaion. The scholiast probably made this suggestion to agree with the passage in the *Theogony*, but we are entitled at least to assume that he did not think Dicte was near Mount Ida. Other authorities—*e.g.*, Porphyrius, *Life of Pythagoras*, p. 17—believed that Zeus was born in the Idaean Cave. Strabo (478), who read ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο in his Aratus, protests against it. Εἴρηται δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρξεν ἡ Πραΐσος, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίον, οὔχ ὡς Ἄρατος ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο. Καὶ γὰρ χιλίους ἡ Δίκτη τῆς Ἴδης ἀπέχει, πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀπ' αὐτῆς κειμένη· τοῦ δὲ Σαμωνίου ἑκατόν. According to Lucian (XV, 4) it was to the Dictaean Cave that Zeus brought Europa.

Bosanquet remarked, and Dr. Beloch has emphasised, the arguments against identifying Dicte with Lasithi. Strabo puts Dicte 100 stades from Cape Salmonion and 1000 from Ida; Ptolemy locates it in longitude 55° 30′, as compared with 55° 50′ of Cape Salmonion and 55° 15′ of Hierapytna (*BSA* XV, p. 351; *Klio* XI, pp. 433–55; cf. Strabo, 478, and Ptolemy, III, 15, 6). Further, the inter-state agreements of cities near the Lasithi range, though abounding in references to Zeus, consistently ignore the Dictaean cult, and refer to the god by other titles, such as Bidatas, Tallaios, etc. 'Thus the cities of Central Crete made little or no use of the title. Its vogue seems to have been limited to the region beyond Hierapytna and to the three states which at one time or another claimed control of the temple at Palaikastro.'

Bosanquet has further suggested (*BSA* XV, 357) that in the ruins of Palaikastro we may perhaps recognise the city which Diodorus (V, 70) describes as having been founded by Zeus in the neighbourhood of his birthplace, and that the name Dikte might have been later transferred to one of the neighbouring heights, possibly the cone of Módhi? A second Dicte, as he points out, would explain a difficult allusion in Strabo (478) and the Praisian tradition about the birth of Zeus (Athenaeus IX, 376A). This conjecture is curiously supported by

the fifteenth-century map of Coronelli, who places ' Dicte ' approximately where Módhi should be, and the town of ' Dittea ' to the south-west, presumably on the limestone plateau (*Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1933–34, p. 254).

Hogarth (*BSA* VI, 95) and others identified the cave above Psychró with that of Dicte, but Dr. Marinatos has pointed out that our earliest authority, Hesiod (*Theogony*, pp. 477 ff.), states that the cave of Zeus lay near Lyktos and the Aegean Mount, and suggested that Arkalokhori, only one and a half hours on foot from Lyktos, would be a more appropriate identification that the Psychro Cave, which is five hours away. I believe that Dr. Beloch was justified in assuming that there was only one Dicte, which lay east of the Hierapytna peninsula, and that the Dictaean birth-story is an Eteocretan tradition, independent of the Hesiodic legend that Zeus was born on Mount Aigaion. Dicte, then, might well have been the present Módhi. Effendi Kavousi would be a more imposing Dicte, and we have evidence elsewhere of cults of Zeus being succeeded by chapels dedicated to the Saviour—compare Effendi Christos on Lasithi and the chapel on Iuktas—but its position disagrees with Strabo's measurements.

I know no suitable cave on either of these mountains; but the entrance might well have been blocked later by natural causes, as happened at Arkalokhori.

3. *The Eteocretans and their Neighbours.* [R.C.B.]

According to the *Odyssey* (XIX, 175–7) five different peoples dwelt in Crete: Achaians, Eteocretans, Cydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians. Herodotus (VII, 170), describing the events which followed the death of Minos in Sicily, relates that the Cretans afterwards made a great expedition against Sicily, all except the people of Polichna and Praisos, and for five years besieged the town where Minos had been murdered. They had to raise the siege, were shipwrecked on their way home, and settled in the Terra di Otranto. Thus Crete was stripped of its inhabitants, and ' other men, and especially Greeks ' flocked to it, presumably Achaians and Pelasgians. Other disasters followed the Trojan War and inaugurated a fresh era of colonisation by the present inhabitants, presumably Dorians. This account is expressly put by Herodotus into the mouth of the Praisians, who correspond with Homer's Eteocretans, while the men of Polichna, whose lands marched with those of Cydonia, in the extreme west of the island, correspond with Homer's Cydonians. Elsewhere Herodotus tells us (I, 172, 173) that Crete in early time was wholly peopled by barbarians; he believed that the Lycians were Cretans who had been driven out in the time of Minos, and adds that the Caunians claimed a similar origin, though he himself held them to be autochthonous. These statements are familiar and have often been discussed, but it has not been pointed out that the claim made by the Eteocretans of Praisos is to some extent justified by excavations in their country. Their claim amounted to this, that they alone of the states in central and eastern Crete survived the disasters which broke up the Minoan empire. There is no proof that Praisos existed as a city during the Bronze Age, although in its immediate neighbourhood tombs and houses of that period have been found. But as headquarters of the Eteocretans, this inland stronghold took the place of the unfortified coast-town at Palaikastro; and this Minoan town has a peculiarity which distinguishes it from other Cretan towns of the Bronze Age. Here and here only, after the destruction which it suffered like the rest of them, the Palace was rebuilt upon traditional Cretan lines and upon a larger scale than before. This occurred at the close of the second Late Minoan period—say 1350 B.C. Here, if anywhere, the old inhabitants preserved their independence and were ruled by one of the old stock, at a time when the Palaces of Knossos, Phaistos, and Gournia were crumbling ruins, while those of Hagia Triada and Tylissos—new castles of mainland type—were rebuilt on or near

the old foundations. At Gournia, too, a house of mainland type has been recognised and awaits fuller excavation; see Oelmann's note *Arch. Jhhrb.* XXVII (1912), p. 38. We cannot be certain that the Eteocretans represent the old inhabitants of Palaikastro, but their claim to be autochthonous was admitted by the ancients; and the fact that their chief god, Dictaean Zeus, was worshipped throughout the classical period among the ruins of Palaikastro, in a temple which occupied the very site of a Minoan sanctuary, is a striking proof of continuity.

The old population shrank back from the coast into the mountains of the interior, where they were reinforced perhaps, as Eduard Meyer has suggested (*Gesch. d. Alt*, I, 702) by refugees from the centre of the island. The Sitia peninsula is a Cretan Wales; and, like Wales, it has a Pembrokeshire. On its north-eastern angle, where the Salmonian promontory runs far out to sea, there grew up a new city, whose inhabitants made no claim to Eteocretan descent, the maritime city of Itanos, whose ruins on the bay of Erimopoli have been explored by members of the French School at Athens. About Itanos, too, Herodotus (IV, 151) has something to tell us which aptly characterises its sea-faring population. The men of Thera, bidden by the Delphic oracle to found a colony in Libya, and not knowing where Libya might be, sent messengers to Crete who visited Itanos, and there met Korobios, a purple-fisher, who told them that contrary winds had once carried him to Libya and to an island of that country called Platea. With him as their guide, a prospecting expedition from Thera reached Platea, where they left him with a store of provisions, and themselves returned home. The rest of the story of Korobios does not concern us here. In this Theraean legend of the foundation of Cyrene, Korobios is typical of his native city, purple-fisher and pilot, familiar with distant shores. It will not surprise us, when we meet with Itanos again in the Hellenistic period, to find it a station of the Egyptian fleet, on friendly terms with the Ptolemies, and maintaining with stubborn tenacity its ancestral rights to purple-fisheries which lay on the sea-road to Libya.

4. *Praisos.*

The site of Praisos was well fitted for the capital of a large pastoral community, a tribal centre rather than a city-state, lying as it does midway between the northern and southern coasts, and flanked to east and west by limestone highlands, less naked then than now, on which the bulk of the tribesmen must have lived in scattered villages. The site of the city (*BSA* VIII, pl. VII, map) is a natural fortress, guarded to north and west by precipitous gorges, difficult of access on the east, but lying open on the south, where a level ridge joins the tongue-shaped rocky plateau to the uplands crowned by the formerly Turkish village of Vavelli. Remains of four temples were discovered; one very small one on the apex of the conical main Acropolis; a second of about the same size about two miles away, at the source of the stream which washes the east slope of the site; a third, somewhat larger, underlying a modern church farther to the east, near the road to Katellionas. Here seem to be the remains described by Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, I, 167. Scanty finds made in and around these three sanctuaries showed that they had been of only secondary importance, but remains of a much more important temple were found near by, on the third Acropolis, or 'Altar Hill,' a picturesque limestone crag lying outside the inhabited area about 300 yards south-west of the main Acropolis. Here there had been an important centre of worship from the eighth or seventh century onward. Professor Halbherr had already explored a primitive altar built of earth with slight stone parapets, and found under and around it a quantity of votive bronzes and terracottas. By clearing the whole hill-top we found that this altar had lain within a *temenos* enclosed by a wall except along the steeper cliffs, with an entrance on the north, the

side nearest to the city. The altar lay near the centre of the *temenos*, and south of it a rectangle of levelled rock marks the site of the temple. Not a stone was still in position, but architectural fragments and squared blocks were found on the rocky slopes adjoining the hill, and fragments of terracotta cornices and antifixes on the hill itself. The temple had been deliberately razed to the ground, and its members scattered, presumably about 140 B.C., when the people of Hierapytna captured and destroyed Praisos. Fragments of inscriptions, including two in the Eteocretan tongue, showed that this had been a sanctuary in which important records were set up. Some of the Greek inscriptions were certainly fragments of treaties. Everything points to this having been the chief temple of the place. Now, Strabo, as we have seen, speaks of Praisos, ' where is the temple of Dictaean Zeus.' Zeus heads the list of their deities in the oath taken by their chief magistrate (Blass, 5120). The only other deities mentioned are Poseidon, Athena, and Apollo Pythios. Poseidon is probably there as the god of *Stalai*, the other party of the treaty. There remain Athena and Apollo Pythios. Let us see to which of these deities the finds made on the ' Altar Hill ' are most appropriate.

Apart from the scattered fragments of building and inscribed stelae, all remains of the later period had vanished. Sometime, apparently in the fifth century, the hill-top had been levelled, a temenos wall built—with a long building on its down-hill side—below the new ground level raised to correspond with the rock platform on which, probably at the same time that the temple was built, a great quantity of earlier offerings were buried and preserved. The most important of these is the terra-cotta head which was published by Mr. E. S. Forster in *BSA* VIII, 272–5, pl. XIII, fig. 1, republished in Plates 18, 19, in front and back views, and described on pp. 41–2 above.

Among other dedications were numerous models of armour, helmets, cuirasses, and loin-guards, cut out of sheet-bronze, and shields both of bronze and terracotta; and some pieces of real armour (*BSA* VIII, 258, pl. X.: cf. the description pp. 56–9 above and Plates 10, 11, 12). Besides the votive shields there were a number of bronze discs, with two perforated holes in the margin for the attachment of a loop, which Professor Thiersch described as cymbals (*Arch. Anzeiger*, XVIII, 1913, p. 47). Similar objects were found in the Cave of Zeus on Mt. Ida, in the Psychro Cave, in the Sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro, and in a temple at Phaistos which may have been dedicated to Rhea.

The round shields decorated in concentric circles which were found in these various sanctuaries have rightly been interpreted in connexion with the dance of the Curetes, and if the bronze discs are miniature cymbals, they illustrate the same ecstatic worship. I take this opportunity of recording that the shattered remains of such a disc were found at Palaikastro, on the site of House B. but above the Minoan level, in an area which yielded other debris from the temple (p. 54 above).

Lastly there are the remains of three terracotta lions in the round, two of them archaic.

(1) Standing lion, *BSA* VIII, 277, fig. 4. Work of the sixth century B.C., picked out with black paint. Height 26 cm. The head is turned to the left. Was this one of a pair symmetrically placed, perhaps supporting a throne?
(2) Couchant lion, *BSA* VIII, 277 f., pl. XIII, 2, XIV. This might be an acroterion, but if so it cannot have been long exposed to the weather: advanced archaic work, probably of the fifth century B.C.
(3) Couchant lion, life-sized. Head alone measures 40 cm. in height and 42 in width; poor shallow work of the fourth or third century B.C. Compare a plaque of terracotta from Praisos with lion in relief, *Mon. Linc.* VI, 182, fig. 18.
[Miss Benton would assign No. 1 to the eighth or early seventh century; No. 3 to fairly early sixth. J. L. M.]

These have suggested that Rhea may have been worshipped along with her son in this sanctuary. But it is possible that the Eteocretans continued to associate a lion with their male deity as the Minoans did.

To sum up, there is sufficient analogy between the finds at Praisos and Palaikastro to

justify the belief that both temples were dedicated to the same god, Zeus of Dicte. What is still more remarkable, the terra-cotta details which are all that remain of the two temples are almost identical: indicating that they were controlled by the same body, or at all events embellished by the same worshippers.

5. *The Temple at Palaikastro.*

Praisos was the headquarters of the Eteocretan tribesmen in historic times, but it was not the original capital of the district. On the sheltered bay of Palaikastro, which lies thirteen miles to the north-east beyond the great limestone plateau, a flourishing city had existed in the Bronze Age (*BSA* VIII, pl. xv, map). The extent of its streets, the size and comfort of the houses, and the imposing architecture of its palace, indicate that this was no mere trading settlement, like the little port of Kato-Zakro, its nearest neighbour to the south, but a seat of government where the landowners of eastern Crete resided, at any rate during the winter months. The prosperity of this provincial capital reached its height at the beginning of the Late Minoan period. Then came a period of decline, best explained by supposing that it was supplanted by the settlements on the Isthmus of Hierapetra; for Gournia, Pseira, and Mochlos were at this time thriving populous places, and wares, which had hitherto passed through Palaikastro, were carried across the Isthmus, which offers an easy portage. At the end of the Second Late Minoan Period, Crete suffered a series of disasters. Not only the great palaces, but the coast-towns on the eastern half of the island were sacked and burned: if the disasters had been caused by earthquakes, the burning would have preceded the sacking. In the period of decline which followed, Palaikastro made a more complete recovery than any of her neighbours. The palace, restored and enlarged, may for a century or so have been the seat of native rulers, but the exposed position on the coast became untenable in the age of piracy which followed the break-up of Minoan power. We have a hint of weakness in the fact that at this time, though not before, the table-topped promontory which shelters the town on the north was used as a place of habitation.

Then the place was deserted, and so far as we can see, suddenly deserted. The signs of this, as of the preceding disaster, are unmistakable: store-rooms filled with jars of wine, oil, and grain, and a great variety of Minoan crockery, in some cases quite undisturbed, in others turned topsy-turvy in the hasty search for plunder: many houses burned; here and there one that by good fortune had escaped the flames. The life of the place was cut short; like many another Minoan settlement, it was destined to be overgrown and forgotten during three thousand years of intermittent disorder, until the close of the nineteenth century restored to the fertile bays and sunny inlets of the Cretan coasts a security such as they had enjoyed under Minoan kings. Yet the breach of continuity was not complete. On the very spot where Minoan inhabitants had offered sacrifices of bulls and dedicated bulls' heads in terra-cotta, there stood, at least from the seventh century onwards, a temple of Dictaean Zeus; and a few pieces of geometric pottery help to span the intervening gulf and to show that some festival or annual sacrifice kept alive the memory of the sacred spot.

In an important Minoan sanctuary uncovered at Petsofá, the highest peak of the ridge that bounds the south side of the plain of Palaikastro (*BSA* IX, 356 ff., pl. VIII–XIII), the most interesting finds were a series of small and fragments of larger figures of MMI date sealed by a Late Minoan building. The burnt and broken condition of the figurines and the ashy deposit wherein they lay suggested comparisons with the finds from the Zeus altar at Olympia and from the principal sanctuary at Idalion in Cyprus. The majority of the offerings were figurines of men, women, and domestic animals, but there were also representations of vermin,

bisected human figures, and small pellets of clay. The excavator quoted the Buddhist custom of writing petitions on a slip of paper which is rolled or chewed into a pellet and then thrown or spat at the image of the deity addressed. The bisected figures and detached limbs recall the practice, which persists till now, of dedicating representations of diseased members.

In classical days the chief sanctuary was a temple situated half-way down the south-east slope of the prehistoric acropolis, and at the end of the main Minoan street. Though the temple had been entirely destroyed, the discovery of architectural fragments of varying dates, of some dedications, and in particular of the fragmentary hymn to Zeus Diktaios, enabled the excavators to identify with some confidence the site of Palaikastro as Heleia, and the temple as that temple of Dictaean Zeus referred to in the famous Praisos-Itanos

Fig. 1.—Terracotta Gorgoneion from the Temple-site, Palaikastro.

boundary inscription. The position of the temple is explained by the fact that it occupied the site of a Late Minoan shrine, to which some of the finds had belonged.

The post-Minoan finds date from Geometric till Late Hellenistic times, but a number of dedications from the archaic period, such as miniature armour, bronze tripods, and pottery torch-holders, may be closely paralleled at Praisos. The fragmentary condition of the architectural materials, and the fact that no stone was found in place, render it very difficult to date the temple.

Some sort of shrine probably persisted from Late Minoan times. In the last years of the seventh century B.C., we may assume the existence of a wooden temple with terracotta revetments, and to this may be assigned the interesting *sima* with representations of chariots, of which two slabs were recovered by Professor Halbherr and other fragments by the British School (*BSA* XI, 300–7, pl. xv, republished in *BSA* XL, Plate 17).

It is possible that this temple was succeeded late in the sixth century by a Doric temple in stone, though the only structural evidence for such a building is a Doric capital, possibly of that date, and a lion-spout resembling one from the Hekatompedon at Athens.

We may perhaps assume some reconstruction in the fifth century, since we possess fragments of Gorgoneia antefixes that may be assigned to the middle of that century (fig. 1: cf. *BSA* XI, 303, fig. 20); a *sima* with a palmette and daisy design recalling examples from Phigaleia and the Argive Heraeum and, still more closely, a fragment built into the old Metropolitan church at Athens; and an egg-and-tongue pattern recalling Erechtheum types. Other fragments of Doric triglyphs and caps, of an Ionic architrave, and of a lion-head spout may be of the Hellenistic period.

The only inscriptions discovered during the excavations at Palaikastro were four fragments of the Hymn to Zeus (*BSA* XV, p. 339, pl. xx), but two other inscriptions probably came originally from this site, namely the fragment of a treaty between Hierapytna and Knossos, built into a wall of the church of St. Nicholas, three miles inland from Palaikastro (F. Halbherr, *Museo Italiano*, III, 612; M. N. Tod, *BSA* IX, 337) and another fragment recording the restoration of votive images in the temple of Dictaean Zeus, found in a garden one mile north-west of the site (Xanthoudides, *Eph. Arch.* 1908, pp. 197 ff., fig. 1).

6. *Itanos.*

Itanos is known to us not only from historical and numismatic evidence, but also from a number of inscriptions referring to boundary agreements, first between Itanos and the small state of Dragmos its neighbour to the south; later between Itanos and Praisos (after the absorption of Dragmos); and finally between Itanos and Hierapytna, after the latter had destroyed Praisos. The site of Itanos we may now identify with Erimopoli, as was first suggested by Halbherr.

An interesting side-light on the local cults of Itanos is thrown by an inscription found at Palaikastro recording the oath of the people of Itanos. We are informed that the Itanians swore by 'Dictaean Zeus and Hera, the gods in Dicte, Athena Polias, the gods to whom sacrifice is made in the temple of Athena, Zeus Agoraios, and Apollo Pythios.' Other inscriptions found at Erimopoli itself record dedications to Apollo Pythios, Zeus, and Athena.

We have evidence, therefore, of the cults of Zeus, and in particular of Dictaean Zeus, somewhere on the territory of Itanos. The inscription recording the arbitration award of Magnesia on the Maeander concerning the territory of Heleia informs us that there was there a temple to Dictaean Zeus; a temple to which we may confidently assign the fragments of temple materials found at Palaikastro.

The ancient remains at Erimopoli lie scattered over several acres, but little remains visible save a fine polygonal terrace wall and the remains of a very interesting Byzantine church. Surface finds indicate that the city site was probably continuously occupied from the fifth century B.C. until Roman times; but both surface finds and inscriptions suggest that the most flourishing period was the third and early second centuries B.C., when Itanos was the Ptolemaic advanced base in Crete.

No temple has been identified on the site, but the inscription found at Palaikastro recording the oath of the Itanians rehearses the names of the gods by whom the Itanians swore. Other inscriptions record dedications to Apollo Pythios, to Athena, and to Zeus. In this oath the religion of the Itanians was closely bound up with that of Mount Dicte, and we might reasonably suppose some temple of Dictaean Zeus to have existed on Itanian territory, even if we had not the additional evidence of their reiterated claims to the territory of Heleia.

Apart from the celebrated boundary report, a number of smaller inscriptions of the Hellenistic period were found at Itanos, some of considerable interest. A fragment of a treaty between Praisos and Hierapytna regulates the use in common of certain pastures and dancing-floors, and allowing citizens of either state to become naturalised in the other. This agreement probably dates from the beginning of the third century B.C.

Another inscription from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III records the dedication by the city of a park in honour of Ptolemy and his wife Berenice.

A third, dated between 216 and 206 B.C., records a dedication to Ptolemy Philopator by Lucius son of Gaius the Roman, then captain of the garrison at Itanos.

A fourth, a fragment of a treaty of ἰσοπολιτεία between Itanos and Hierapytna, may perhaps represent the final settlement of the long boundary-dispute (A. J. Reinach, *Rev. des Études Grecques*, XXIV, p. 377, Nos. I, II, III and IV).

7. *The Territory of Praisos.*

The *Periplus* of Scylax, drawn up about the middle of the fourth century B.C., states that the territory of Praisos extended from sea to sea (48, διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν). The same is said of Lampaea (Lappa) and of Lyttos. Hierapytna, which must always have possessed both shores of its narrow isthmus, is not mentioned in the *Periplus*.

An inscription of about 300 B.C. supplies the names of the ports of Praisos on the north and the south coast. This decree, copied by Mariani at Piskokephalo and published by him, *Mon. Ant. dei Lincei*, VI (1895), p. 229, had been found at Praisos (as R. C. B. was assured in 1901) in the ruined church marked to the south-east of Tholos-tomb A in *BSA* VIII, Pl. VII. It is reprinted in Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 3, p. 524: Michel, *Recueil*, p. 440: Collitz-Bechtel, *SGDI*, p. 5120; cf. *Suppl. Epigr.* Gr. I, 416. It shows that the harbour now called Sitia (Σητεία), at the mouth of the river which flows north from Praisos, bore almost the same name in antiquity, and that its inhabitants, called Σηταῆται, were bound to furnish ships, upon certain occasions, for the use of the Praisians. They shared this obligation with the people of another town, Σταλῖται, who were held responsible for voyages to Cretan ports along the southern coast. For a mission to Delphi or Olympia, the two towns were to combine; while, for a voyage to any other place outside Crete, its geographical position would decide to which of them the duty fell. It seems to follow that Στᾶλαι, or Στῆλαι—the form in which the name has been preserved by Stephanus [1]—lay to the south of Praisos. Mariani rejected this inference on the ground that the south coast offers no suitable site for a maritime city, and suggested that the ruins at Kato-Zakro might be those of Stalai. Now that Hogarth's excavations have shown that those remains are exclusively Minoan, the suggestion falls to the ground. Moreover, the territory of Itanos extended to the Καρούμαις gorge, and the region south of it, including Upper and Lower Zakro, belonged to Dragmos (p. 75 below). The decree tells us that the people of Stalai possessed certain islands, which can be no other than the group of four lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles out from Cape Goudhouras on the south coast. Three of them are mere islets; the other, the modern Kouphonisi, known in antiquity as Λεύκη, is 2 miles in length, and is cultivated by the peasants of the inland plain of Ziro, who keep their boats at a landing-place called Ἀθηνόλακκο, east of the cape. Conditions cannot have been very different in antiquity. On the naked limestone plateau, a large settlement can exist only where there is shelter,

[1] *Steph. Byz.* Στῆλαι, πόλις Κρήτης πλησίον Παραισοῦ καὶ Ῥυθίμνης. Hoeck (*Kreta* I, 414) and others, including Mariani, have emended the last words into Πραισοῦ καὶ Ῥυτίου. But the position of Rhytium is now fixed at Rotasi in the Messara. If I am right in placing Stalai near Cape Goudhouras, the Erythraeum of Ptolemy, we may read: πλησίον Πραισοῦ καὶ Ἐρυθραίου. Another possible correction for Ῥυθίμνης would be Ἱεραπύτνης.

fertile soil, and abundant water. Ziro fulfils these conditions, and is the largest village in the southern half of the province. The name Zíρo, from the Arabic word for a 'bucket,' survives in modern Italian with the meaning 'jar.' Raulin, *Description de l'île de Crète*, I, 174, writes the name of the village *Thiro*.

It may be a coincidence that a group of huts in the same basin bears the name of Staló. There is another village of this name 5 miles west of Canea. Σταλὸς in modern Cretan appears to be a form of the common σταῦλος, derived from the Latin *stabulum*. The suggested change from στᾶλαι is illustrated by Hesychius στάλη· ταμεῖον κτηνῶν. ὁ σταλός. Probably the Σταλῖται were the inhabitants of the Ziro plain and several smaller settlements of the same kind on the south-eastern plateau. Then, as now, they would have vineyards on the heights, olives on the coast near Athenólakko, and corn-fields on the island.

The decree only mentions Seteia, the northern port, incidentally; but it is chiefly concerned with the relations of Praisos and Stalai. In the opening sentence, Praisos gives to the people of Stalai 'their territory, city and islands which they now hold,' with certain dues; and guarantees to them the perpetual possession thereof upon certain conditions, including the maritime service already described. Dittenberger infers, with reason, that Praisos had conquered Stalai in war, and that the restoration of territory, city, and rights was an act of policy, intended to conciliate the good-will of the conquered and secure to Praisos free access to the sea. If, however, we take into account the great Toplu inscription recounting the long quarrel between Praisos and Itanos regarding the possession of the island of Leuke, we may read yet more between the lines. The islands are the key to the situation. The tolls which Praisos bestows on Stalai are 'half the harbour-dues and half the tithes of purple and of fish, that of fish being as heretofore.' The harbour dues in question are not, I think, those of the insignificant port of Stalai, but of the 'small natural harbour' described by Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, I, 243, as formed by two islets lying off the north-west point of Leuke, important as offering the only shelter of the kind to be found along the rocky south-east angle of Crete. The testimony of Scylax already quoted, and the reference in the inscription to the halving of the tithe of fish as an old arrangement, may be taken to show that Stalai had been subject to Praisos before the date of this decree; while the new arrangement for apportioning the tithe on purple and the harbour-dues may mean that Praisos had wrested the islands from Itanos in pursuance of a claim put forward by Stalai, the nearest town on the adjoining coast of Crete. If the presence of the *murex* attracted purple-fishers to those waters, that in itself made the islands valuable. A further explanation of their importance is to be found in the increase of navigation due to the Hellenisation of the Levant; in the wrong hands they might become a haunt of pirates,[1] in the right hands a useful port of call. Spratt describes the remains of a small Roman town on the point overlooking the harbour, and of three large cisterns. And the Toplu boundary-inscription shows that Ptolemy VI Philometor placed a garrison on Leuke, which was withdrawn only at his death.

The following observations, which throw light on the importance of Kouphonisi Island in ancient times, were made during a visit with Mr. C. T. Currelly in June 1903: cf. *BSA* IX, 276.

[1] See the references to piracy in a treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna dating probably from the end of the third century B.C. (Collitz-Bechtel 3749, Michel 21); and the complaint of the Hierapytnians, in a letter quoted by the Magnesian arbitrators, that a ship sailing from Leuke had committed some act of war in their territory; at this time Leuke seems to have been occupied by Praisians or Stalitai, and the Hierapytnians in lodging the complaint admitted the title of Itanos to the island. *Sylloge* 3, 686, ll. 122 ff. The treaty speaks of Hierapytna's 'legitimate revenues from the sea.' Rhodes is to help Hierapytna 'against any king or dynast who may attack her,' perhaps a reference to the Egyptian king's support of the claims of Itanos.

The huge cisterns described by Spratt are certainly Roman, and suggest that this may have been one of the points where the corn ships from Alexandria took in water. Spratt describes the remains of a small Roman settlement at the north-west point, and in the plain to the south ' three vaulted and solidly built cisterns.' They were connected ' with each other and with the town by an aqueduct, which remains in part visible, and can be traced also to the hills southward of the cisterns,' where a small spring still rose in winter. The largest cistern ' was 650 feet long, divided into three longitudinal vaulted compartments.'

The Ptolemaic fort may be identified with a small enclosure on a high plateau near the east end of the island. Only one course remains, composed of regular blocks about 1·15 m. long and ·75 wide. Within it is a rock-cut cistern. On an adjoining height to the south rises a pyramid of some twenty steps built of limestone with a core of rubble and concrete, and below it to the east lie two large fragments of a colossal seated statue of white marble, probably Parian. The head is lost and there is nothing to show the sex. The rigid pose, the arrangement of the drapery on the knees, and the unadorned severity of the cube which forms the seat, suggest an Egyptian model. Spratt noticed its likeness to the ' fragment of a sitting

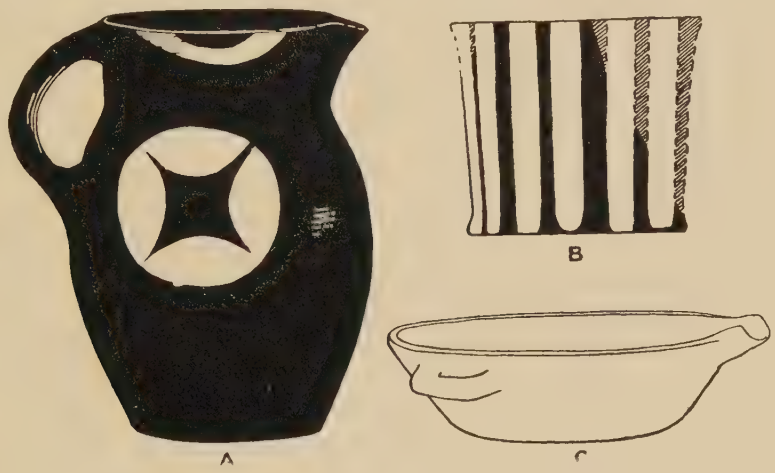

FIG. 2.—MINOAN POTTERY FROM THE PURPLE FISHERY AT KOUPHONÍSI.

figure of colossal size and very white Parian marble,' that he had seen on the beach below Kastri at Palaikastro: *Travels*, I, 210. ' The figure was draped; but the sea having probably washed it for ages, since it fell down to the shore from the top of a gravel cliff undermined by the waves, the surface of the statue is so worn as to render it valueless, and its character and probable age indeterminable.' Nothing is now to be seen of it. Bosanquet was told that the last surviving fragment had been taken by a mason and cut into a mortar for the village-shop: *BSA* VIII, 288. Bosanquet suggested that Palaikastro might be the *Heleia* of the Toplu inscription, and the discovery of the temple has made it practically certain that this is the case. Given the fact, recorded by the inscription, that detachments from the Egyptian garrison at Itanos were posted at the two disputed points, Leuke (Kouphonisi) and Heleia (Palaikastro), it is tempting to suppose that the colossal statues set up on commanding heights at precisely these two points on the Cretan coast, were portraits of Ptolemy VI Philometor, erected perhaps by the citizens of Itanos whose claims he had espoused.

' A further discovery does something to explain the pertinacity with which Itanos asserted an immemorial claim to this apparently insignificant island. In a wilderness of shifting sand-

hills at the north-west end of the island, a few minutes' walk to the south-east of the well where fishing boats now fill their kegs, we [R.C.B. and C.T.C.] came on a heap of broken purple-shells. They were of the variety *Murex trunculus*, and had all been broken for the extraction of the gland containing the colour, excepting a few small specimens, rejected, no doubt, as being immature. The deposit was a foot deep, and over 8 feet in diameter. In turning it over we came upon two fragments of a steatite bowl, which at once suggested that this was a waste heap not of Hellenic but of Minoan purple fishers. Within 20 feet of the bank of shells a line of stones rose above the sand, and a few minutes' digging showed this to be a wall of a roughly constructed hut and brought to light a complete jug (Fig. 2 A), lying a foot below the surface. Nothing else of interest was found within the house, but its possibilities were not exhausted, when the discovery of a whole rubbish-heap of broken pottery between the shell-bank and the house caused us to concentrate our forces there. Only one other practically whole vase was found, the big basin, ·36 m. in diameter, represented in Fig. 2 C, but there were fragments of at least eight more jugs, like A but unpainted, and of numerous cups bearing characteristic Middle Minoan designs in white, and occasionally also red, on black ground. Fig. 1 B shows one which has an interesting vertical design, reminiscent perhaps of fluting on a metal cup. As is usual where any large quantity of Middle Minoan pottery is found, the dark on light style was also represented, though scantily.'

Leuke, then, was a station for purple fishers in Middle Minoan days, which, if we accept the latest possible date for the Egyptian XII Dynasty, means early in the second millennium B.C. That they came from Palaikastro has been rendered at least probable by the discovery, at two different points in the prehistoric town, of similar deposits of pounded *Murex trunculus* associated with Middle Minoan pottery. Fifteen hundred years later, when the curtain rises on the Crete of historical times, we find another maritime city established in the near neighbourhood, cultivating the territory of Palaikastro, and perhaps inheriting her predecessor's fishing grounds also. If Korobios the Itanian (p. 64) knew the way to the famous purple fisheries of Meninx on the Libyan coast, we may be sure that he knew the isle of Leuke, a convenient halting-place, frequented [1903] by the sponge-boats of Syme and Kalymnos on their way to African waters. Leuke, in short, was valuable, both as a fishing-station, and as a stage on the way to other fishing-stations. The claim of Itanos, which was a maritime city, as her coin-types show, to immemorial rights over the island, seems to have been a just one; but it was natural that Praisos, when her power was at its height and her territory stretched from sea to sea, should covet the harbour dues and tolls on fish and purple which accrued to the possessor of Leuke and the adjoining islands. Such seems to be the real significance of her bargain with the people of Stalai, through whom, and only through whom, she could state a plausible claim. The name of Leuke does not occur in the decree defining the obligations of the Stalitai. The islands are mentioned simply as νᾶσοι, but on side B. line 11, Stalai is associated with the south coast, where the Kouphonisi group alone can be in question. Moreover, in the latter part of the Toplu inscription there are references to Stalitai in connection with the dispute about Leuke; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 3, no. 685, ll. 123, 130. The name Leuke has been assigned by Bürchner (Pauly-Wissowa, IA, 1988, to Grades Island off Palaikastro, but on that islet there is no sign of a fort, and no water-supply. It had no value as a naval station to the Ptolemies who had already occupied Itanos and Palaikastro-Heleia.

8. *The Ptolemies and Crete.*

In the third century B.C. Crete must have been a very uncomfortable place. Intermittent, nay, almost constant warfare between the various city states was aggravated by the

great powers Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, who for their own ends exploited the local jealousies and played off one city against another.

An inscription dated to the beginning of the third century B.C. gives the terms of an agreement between Praisos and Stalai and Seteia (p. 69, above), whereby the two smaller cities engaged to furnish ships for Praisos on certain occasions, and Praisos guaranteed them half the harbour dues and half the tithes of purple and fish. It is probable that these fishing-grounds, including the island of Leuke, may have been wrested from Itanos; and Itanos seems to have appealed to Ptolemy II, who was doubtless glad to obtain a naval base in Crete to strengthen his communications with his bases at Thera and Methana.

The details of these schemes and counter-schemes may only be surmised, but an Itanian decree of about 265 B.C. honours Patroklos the admiral of Ptolemy II (Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscr.*, I, p. 45), and another dated about 260 thanks Ptolemy III for continuing towards Itanos the favour and protection which his father had granted that city: A. J. Reinach, *l.c.*, p. 392.

At some time between 215 and 206 a Roman mercenary, Lucius the son of Gaius, commanded the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos, and the great boundary inscription refers to the previous existence of an Egyptian garrison on Leuke (Reinach, *l.c.*).

During the first half of the second century B.C. the Ptolemaic thalassocracy was considerably reduced, and an inscription from Thera, apparently dating from the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, discloses that there was then only one military commander, with one adjutant and one quartermaster under him, for the garrison of Crete, Thera, and Arsinoe of the Peloponnese; all that remained of the once extensive Egyptian empire in the Aegean.

9. *Itanos and Hierapytna.*

Politically Itanos had been the chief *point d'appui* of Egypt in Crete, and sheltered an Egyptian garrison, like Arsinöe and Thera, during the first half of the second century B.C.

In 146 B.C. Ptolemy Philometor died, and his brother and successor Physkon withdrew the garrisons from the outlying posts in the Aegean, including Itanos; which, deprived of its powerful patron and menaced by the expansion of Hierapytna, naturally turned for support to Rome, the rising power that had nominated Philometor and Physkon to the throne of Egypt.

Hierapytna, no longer afraid of Egypt, and relying on her traditional friendship with Rhodes, had attacked and destroyed her old enemy Praisos, and shortly afterwards colonised the site with some of her own inhabitants. Not content with this success, Hierapytna had taken up, against Itanos, the ancient but disputable claims of Praisos to Heleia and to the fishing rights of Leuke. The destruction of Praisos probably took place about 140 B.C., though we cannot date the catastrophe precisely. The names of three Roman officials who at one time or another were concerned in the negotiations are recorded in the report of the arbitration committee.

The course of the events recorded in the famous boundary inscription seems to have been as follows:—

Soon after the death of Philometor in 146, Hierapytna attacked and destroyed its old enemy Praisos.

The Romans sent out a commission to enquire into this Cretan war, headed by Servius Sulpicius, presumably the Galba who is notorious for his massacre of the Lusitanians; he had been consul in 144. To this commission, presumably in the year 143, Hierapytna sent a claim for the island of Leuke and the territory of Heleia, and probably gained Sulpicius' favour. The Itanians countered by appealing directly to the Senate of Rome, who sent

out a second commission headed by Quintus Fabius (possibly Aemilianus, who had been consul in 145, or perhaps more probably Servilianus, the consul of 142).

The second commission (perhaps in or about 141 B.C.) declared in favour of the *status quo ante bellum*, a decision unpleasing to Hierapytna, who again appealed to the Senate. A third commission, headed by the consul Lucius, son of Lucius, Calpurnius Piso, appointed the city of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander to arbitrate on the vexed question, what boundaries were implied by Fabius' *status quo ante bellum*. Kern suggested that this Piso was the consul of 139, but his praenomen seems to have been Gnaeus. We can exclude from our consideration the consuls of 148 (when Praisos still existed) and 135 (excluded for historical and for epigraphical reasons). There remain the consuls for 133 and 112, surnamed Frugi and Caesoninus respectively. In 132 L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (Consul in 133) was still occupied by the slave war in Sicily. It seems therefore probable that the third commission and the Magnesia arbitration took place about 130 B.C. If Caesoninus had presided, we should have had to place the arbitration twenty years later, but it seems unlikely that the dispute should have lasted so long without a definite result.

10. *Itanos and Praisos.*

Boundary disputes were even commoner in Crete than in mainland Greece, and many inscriptions relate to them. The longest and most detailed is an inscription preserved in two copies which gives a record of the history of a boundary feud between Itanos and her neighbours on the south-west: Dittenberger, *Syll*^{3}., II, 685, with fuller emendations than in other reprints; Cagnat, *I.G.R.R.P.* I, 1021; Collitz-Bechtel 5060. The inscription is an arbitration award given about 130 B.C. by a commission of eighteen citizens of Magnesia on the Maeander, sitting in the temple of Artemis Leukophryene in that city. These arbitrators had been appointed by the people of Magnesia at the request of L. Calpurnius Piso, probably the consul of 133 B.C., to settle a dispute between the states of Itanos and Hierapytna. Rome had become the dominant power in the Aegean, and both parties having referred their difference to her decision, Piso discreetly invited the city of Magnesia, which had traditional ties of friendship with many Cretan states, to investigate the matter and endeavour to arrange terms of peace. The procedure of the court is interesting. A day having been agreed upon, the commissioners, in the presence of representatives of the disputing states, offered sacrifices on the altar of Artemis, took oaths over the victims, and sat in the temple to hear the case:—

> 'We sat not only that day but most of the following night, putting up with the utmost inconvenience in order to do the fullest justice to the claims of both parties. At the close of the pleadings we put our views in writing; but as we were unwilling that the case should be decided by a hard and fast vote we exerted ourselves once more to bring the parties together, and restore them to their former terms of friendship, in accordance with our own traditional policy and with the relation which we held to be the proper one for both parties, having so completely mastered the facts that we could appeal to them to agree upon a settlement and terms of friendship. When we failed to attain our purpose owing to the bitterness with which both sides maintained their quarrel, it became necessary to decide the case for our verdict by vote, and we have drawn up a statement in due form regarding it.
>
> 'The Itanians inhabit a city beside the sea and have owned from the time of their ancestors a piece of land adjoining the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus. They also own and enjoy certain islands, among them that which is called Leuke. Being harassed at divers times by the Praisians, whose territory adjoins theirs, they called in with a view to the succour and defence both of their city and their land and moreover of their islands, Ptolemy, the late king of Egypt, as documents submitted to us on this point prove, and by this means maintained their possession of the places aforesaid. After the death of King Ptolemy Philometor and the withdrawal of the force which he had sent to guard the Itanians, both their land and their islands, nevertheless the Itanians, availing themselves of the support of their friends, continued to defend their own property. When however war of a serious kind broke out in Crete and after the destruction of the city of the Praisians which lay between the Itanians and Hierapytnians, the result was that the Hierapytnians set themselves to dispute with the Itanians the possession both of the island and of the land, asserting that the land was sacred to Dictaean Zeus, and that the island had been theirs from the time of their ancestors. On the arrival in Crete of the ambassadors from Rome under Servius Sulpicius [Galba?, p. 74, above] and the conclusion of the war, the Itanians among others presented themselves before the Senate. On this as on a former occasion the city of Magnesia was nominated [as arbitrator]. Our terms of reference run: " whatever the manner in which

either of the parties held this land and island about which the action had arisen on the day preceding the outbreak among them of the war on account of which Servius Sulpicius and the embassy was sent to Crete, in that same manner the arbitrators shall decide that they are entitled to own, possess, and cultivate them." Our decision therefore is after hearing the pleadings of both sides:—

'That the land under dispute was continuously possessed by the Itanians, as we have already stated, until the beginning of the war already described, and had belonged from the first to the Itanians, as was further proved by the description of the delimitations of the land shown to us by both parties.

'(1) Delimitation between the Itanians and the Dragmians of the territory formerly adjoining theirs, which contains the following "along the Sedamnos to Karymai and beyond to the 'crown' and from the 'crown' round about straight to Dorthanna in the direction of the 'hollow' up to the road and beyond to Mollos."

'(2) Delimitation between the Itanians and Praisians as follows:—The Itanians and Praisians have resolved to make peace for all time regarding the land which either state now owns, of which the boundaries are these:—Along the Sedamnos to Karymai to the "ridge" and across to the "crown"[1] and round about along the "crown" and in a straight line to Dorthannai to the "hollow" and along the road to south of the road that leads through Atron and to Mollos and from Mollos in a straight line to the sea.

'(3) Delimitation made between the Hierapytnians and Praisians in the following terms:—"Boundaries of the land: along the Sedamnos to Karymai to the 'ridge' and across to the 'crown' and round about along the 'crown' and in a straight line to Dorthannai to the hollow."

'The aforesaid boundaries clearly separate the land of the Itanians from that which formerly belonged to the Dragmians and Praisians, and is now possessed by the Hierapytnians; and the sanctuary of Zeus lies outside the disputed land and is encompassed by enclosures and by various other landmarks and signs as was easily seen from the plan submitted to us: moreover the Itanians were able to show through various other documents that the land in dispute had been in regular cultivation, and was not, as the Hierapytnians asserted, sacred and untilled; and this same point was evident also from the terms of reference upon which we judged the case, which in fact was drawn up by the ambassadors who came to Crete with Quintus Fabius. They had seen the sanctuary and its precinct set about with its own signs, landmarks, and enclosures, and had also seen the land adjoining the sanctuary; yet they wrote no word about sacred land, although the Hierapytnians had made their claim to the Senate expressly in respect of sacred land, and the Itanians about land of their own called Elia [Heleia] and their island Leuke; but they decided that the land adjoining the sanctuary was not sacred nor untilled and it appeared that they had made mention only of (ordinary) land, since they wrote "that they may own, possess and also enjoy the fruits of it," and this phrase "to enjoy the fruits" applies to land which has been tilled and is to be tilled, which was not possible in the case of sacred land; for from ancient times sacred law and curses and fines had forbidden anyone to pasture flocks or set up folds or sow or cut wood in the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus. And yet it is the Roman custom when they are in dispute about any piece of sacred land, to write of it expressly as sacred, as appears from decrees submitted to us on other occasions. And this is the most important and strongest proof that we have given our verdict in accordance with facts generally admitted, and already decided in matters which the Romans had already judged in their broad outlines; when the Itanians claimed of the Senate that the fort built by the Hierapytnians on the land in question should be destroyed, the Senate gave orders to L. Calpurnius Piso their general, that any building on it should be destroyed and obviously . . .

'With regard to the island called Leuke the people of Hierapytna had admitted the contention (of the Itanians that) the island was (theirs) and owing to things that had occurred in regard to it (or him) . . . . . had invited the Ptolemaic House for their protection and defence (to send troops) they supported their contentions with letters to the King (producing) copies of them (showing) . . . . . by the terms frequent despatches of soldiers and letters to the island . . . . . the garrison of the island, and addition levies of corn, which the . . . . . on behalf of the island written against certain persons by the Itanians as they contended, since . . . . . and by tablets which contained the annual expenditure (or accounts) of the detachment. In addition to the evidence already mentioned, it was easy for us to see from letters written by the other states and by the Hierapytnians themselves about the aforesaid island, both that the aforesaid island of Leuke belonged to the Itanians and that it had always been possessed by them.'

The document here is more mutilated, but the general sense is clear. The citizens of Magnesia decided that Hierapytna had no claims to the temples by inheritance, by purchase, by conquest, or by a legal decision; and they therefore voted in favour of Itanos.

It is conceivable, as Reinach suggested, that the fragment of a treaty of ἰσοπολιτεία between Itanos and Hierapytna discovered at Eremopolis may represent the happy ending to the long dispute.

11. *Cretan Folk-memory.*

That the Cretans of the Roman age had an antiquarian interest in the past is attested by the curious preface to Dictys Cretensis. A similar interest at a somewhat earlier date, about 100 B.C., is indicated by two of the decrees of Cretan cities engraved on the walls of the temple of Dionysus at Teos. In most cases the Teian inscriptions are simply treaties,

[1] [Bosanquet translates 'edge of the cliff'; I have given 'crown' because though στεφάνη, like 'crown of the hill,' is an ordinary term I believe it to be here the local title of some particular crown; for the same reason I place 'ridge' and 'hollow' in inverted commas.—R.W.H.

but those of Knossos and Priansos embody testimonials to the agreeable qualities of two envoys sent to them from Teos, and particularly to the literary and musical gifts of one of them, who had ' recited to the harp the works of Timotheus and Polyides and of our (*i.e.*, Cretan) ancient poets in a most masterly way, and introduced to us a cycle of compositions about gods and heroes born in Crete, which he had collected from numerous poets and historians ' (Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, III, No. 82, ll. 7–13; Blass, *l.c.*, p. 5187).

Various survivals of Minoan cults during Hellenistic or Roman times are recorded, and there is considerable evidence from coins. The coins of Olus have a design of Britomartis on the obverse, and those of Phaistos figures of Europe and Talos.

Without considering ambiguous types, such as those of Zeus and Artemis, we may quote the frequent occurrence of Zeus Kretagenes on coins of Trajan's time and the occasional appearance of Dictymna, Europa, the Cretan Dionysus, and perhaps Rhea.

Architectural evidence proves the existence of an archaic temple in the heart of a Minoan town—nay, even at the head of its High Street—a temple that must surely be the descendant of the Minoan shrine that had existed on or near the same site. Further finds indicate a survival of this cult into Hellenistic and Roman times, especially the fragments of the Hymn to the Kouretes, which seems to have been composed in the Hellenistic period (probably about 300 B.C.), whereas the lettering of the inscription shows that our present copy must not have been transcribed earlier than A.D. 200.

A still more remarkable instance of the survival of a cult is provided by Dr. Marinatos' excavations in the cave of Eileithyia, where an Early Minoan cult seems to have endured until the fifth century A.D. (*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1934, No. 28).

It is probable that the story of the birth of Zeus was told of several caves in Crete. The cave in Dicte held its own only in literary tradition. The poets frequently confuse Ida and Dicte. It is difficult to find a single passage which implies familiarity with the cave or its situation. Placed, as it was, high in the side of a remote valley, it seems to have been ignored by official religion, but there must have been superstitious folk who remembered its story and believed that the god was still to be found by those who sought him in its inmost recess. They said that a shepherd boy of Knossos had strayed hither in quest of a sheep missing from his father's flock, and lain down to rest within the cave, and when he woke he made his way back to the city, and found strange faces in his father's house. The old man who now dwelt there proved to be his brother, and he himself had been mourned as dead. His sleep had lasted for fifty-seven years. During that long trance ' he had held communion with gods and with the words of gods and with Truth and with Justice.' The shepherd boy became the greatest of Cretan seers, Epimenides. He had dwelt with Zeus, and ranked thereafter as one of his attendants, a new *Kouros*.

Such a story could be told only of a cave which was very remote and rarely visited. An Alexandrian writer of fairy stories has recorded what seems like a bit of genuine Cretan folk-lore about a cave called the ' Holy Cave of the Bees,' which neither god nor man might enter. Once a year a great fire used to blaze forth from it, and this was supposed to be due to the boiling up of the blood which had been shed within it at the birth of Zeus. Once upon a time four men resolved to go in and steal the honey of the sacred Bees. They put on brazen armour and penetrated so far that they saw the swaddling bands of the god lying within; then their armour burst asunder and Zeus would have slain them with a thunderbolt, but the Fates and Themis interposed, that no death might desecrate a spot so holy. So Zeus spared the robbers and changed them into birds. Antoninus Liberalis 19 quotes the story as from Boio's *Tales of the Birth of Birds*. The name of Boio, really a Delphic priestess,

is thought to have been borrowed by a writer of fairy stories at Alexandria, who lived not later than the early part of the third century B.C., since his work seems to have been known to Philochorus.

Pococke in 1739 heard a story of a cave defended by wind blowing from it; ' they have now no tradition that his '—Jupiter's—' sepulchre was at Cnossus, as was affirmed in the last century; but, they say, that he was buried in a grot on Mount Ida, and that there comes out of it such a wind that no one can enter it ' (*Description of the East*, II, i. p. 259).

Every traveller in Crete has seen caves which one cannot approach without stirring up a host of angry bees. The name ' Holy ' Cave may have been common. The cave of Melidoni, dedicated in Roman times to Hermes Tallaois, and consecrated anew in Christian eyes by the terrible massacre of 1823 (Pashley, I, 126–40, quoting Sieber, I, 191), retained until lately the name of Γεροσπίλιο. But this story relates to a cave where Zeus was born, a cave specially beloved by the Fates and Themis; and Themis is in one story the nurse of Zeus; in another, his bride. Now the cave of Dicte, the cave in which Truth and Justice had appeared to Epimenides, was always regarded as the fountain-head of Law. Here Minos the first law-giver of Crete had held converse with the Almighty.

The dedication begins

Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἱδρυμένε, Μαίαδος Ἑρμῆ

and does *not* prove that H. was called Ταλλαῖος. See Boeckh, II, p. 423: also in Gruter and Muratori. Tournefort was prevented from visiting it.

THE DATING OF HELMETS AND CORSELETS IN EARLY GREECE

PLATES 21–32.

BY SYLVIA BENTON

KUKAHN, *Der Griechische Helm*, has traced the development of the Corinthian helmet—(1) a 'stove-pipe' shape, longer than it was broad; (2) (*a*) back adapted to the human head; (*b*) necessary modifications of the side; (3) plastic adjustment of the cap. His catalogue follows this scheme, but he makes nonsense of it by dating nos. 44–69 about 600 B.C. (p. 32, see pl. 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6), and a more developed helmet no. 76 (pl. 32) about 640 B.C. He has seen (p. 26) that 2a is depicted on vases dated before 650 B.C.; so is 2b, with a bend in the side, though Kukahn has missed it (p. 28). See Payne's photograph of the plastic aryballos in Berlin and of the Macmillan vase, *PV* p. 23; also the helmet of the kneeling man on an aryballos, Johansen, pl. XXIII, 1. 'Stove-pipe' helmets continue to occur long after 600 B.C., the foot often hidden by a shield, but the best helmets of 600 B.C. are not shaped like a pipe (see Payne, *NC* pl. 31, 9 and pl. 32, 2); more like the 'fly-away' helmet, Kukahn no. 134, pl. 3, 6 than like no. 55, pl. 2, 6, which he dates about 600 B.C.

The following group of armour is dated by its decoration; and the dating is so important that it is worth while to consider the details:—

(*a*) The Crowe corselet (*Olympia* IV, pl. LIX).
(*b*) The Olympia corselet (*Ol.* IV., No. 980, pl. LVIII).
(*c*) The *mitra* with a tripod, from Axos (Pl. 28: No. 3 in Levi, *Annuario* 1933, fig. 15, pl. x).
Another *mitra* from Axos with heraldic horse-protomes (Levi, No. 4 pl. iv.) is by the same hand as the Axos helmet. See Benton, *BSA* XXXIX, p. 57.5.
(*d*) The helmet in the Louvre (De Ridder 1101, pl. 65; cf. Lipperheide, *Antike Helme*, pp. 57, 516; Payne, *NC* 284, fig. 122; Kukahn, No. 76, p. 74, pl. 3, 2.
(*e*) The helmet from Axos (Levi, *Annuario* 1933, pl. X–XIII: Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. XLII, p. 120).
Detail, Marinatos, *BCH* 1936, p. 272, fig. 37.

The floral chains and the sphinxes show that the two corselets are by the same hand. The workmanship is probably Cretan, though very close to proto-Corinthian work. Compare the hanging floral chain on another *mitra* from Axos (Levi, pl. XIV, 1), which has Cretan bees hanging from its palmettes; for these bees see Payne, *BSA* XXIX, 294 ff. The animals have more abandon, turn more sharply on themselves, and have more pliant contours, than is usual for proto-Corinthian animals. Details on the corselets come close to those on the helmet from Axos: a similar palmette growing up to support an animal's foot: the pattern below the horses with the foot of the corselet: the twirls on triangles over the brow of the helmet, and the stamens of the lotus on the corselet. For the horses on the helmet from Axos compare Pegasos on the aryballos in Boston (Payne, *PV* pl. 20, 2–4), and note that the cyma and twist, which (Kukahn seems to think, p. 41) date this helmet infallibly to 600 B.C., occur on this very aryballos, which must be more than 50 years earlier. But is not this an argument in a circle? A sea beast is tucked into a corner of the Axos helmet, and others peep out from below tripod-

legs on the Axos mitra; Levi, No. 3, pl. x. Cf. also the sea beast on a transition tablet, A.D. 1, 7, 26. Centaurs on an Italiot oinochoe in Rome (Museo Pigorini 23786 from Poggio Renzo), under proto-Corinthian and possibly Cretan influence, hold branches stylised like the shrubs on the border of the Axos mitra. The ramping lions on this *mitra* are closely paralleled on the Crowe corselet, and again on the helmet in the Louvre (Lipperheide, 516). I agree with Payne that the Louvre helmet is proto-Corinthian. The sphinx is very like the Axos sphinxes in style—though they are wingless—and it is nearer to middle proto-Corinthian than to transitional sphinxes, as Kukahn would have it (compare *NC* pl. 4, 6); nearer 650 B.C. than 640 B.C.

As for the shape of the helmets, Levi's valuable early photograph (p. 18, fig. 13b) shows that the restoration has only slightly exaggerated the outward curve of the back. It accords well with the other helmets of its class (Kukahn, pl. 2), and it might well have been made in Crete when Corinth had only newly discovered a freer form. The shape would be too old-fashioned for a fine helmet fifty years later—not to say seventy-five (Kukahn's second thoughts, p. 42). Full dress helmets about 600 B.C. are freer, more fly-away, more spread-out, like the palmettes; Payne, *NC* pl. 31, 6, pl. 32, 2.

On this system the miniature helmet from Praisos (*BSA* XL, pl. 22, 23) should belong to the early seventh century. It has straight rim, no nose-piece, a hardly perceptible back-curve, and it is made in two pieces like a corselet. It is shallow, and would sit rather high on the neck, like the helmet in a terracotta plaque from Praisos (Dohan, *Met. Mus.* III, fig. 1). It will not fit into the Corinthian series and it seems to be under East Greek influence. Compare the absence of nose-piece on the Rhodian plastic helmets mentioned above. For the general impression compare the Corinthian helmets sketched by Payne from a Cretan bronze, *JHS* 1933, p. 291, lower figure, top left.

The next development, the plastic division of the cap from the rest of the helmet, was almost universal by the fifth century, and its beginning is dated by Kukahn (p. 45) to the middle of the sixth century. That is when it became common on Attic vases, *e.g.* an amphora by Exekias in the Vatican: Beazley, *Attic Black-figure*, pl. 8. But plastic divisions were in existence earlier on Rhodian helmet-vases; see *Clara Rhodos* III, p. 75, tomb LXV, 5, and V. H. Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, p. 104, where good reason is given for dating the tomb Middle Corinthian. There is another example in Oxford with a palmette: *CVA* II, D. pl. VII, 3, pl. VIII. There is an earlier type with rosettes and no plastic division, and a severer back, of which there is a good example in Samos: Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, Nos. 168, 169. Professor Beazley tells me that all these vases are so similar in style and technique, that they should belong to the same generation. These severer vases then may just belong to the seventh century. I mention them here, because one of the severe helmet-vases in the Scheurleer Museum (*CVA* II, D and III C, pl. 1, 4) has a hole for the mouth like the fragments, Palaikastro, No. 30 (*BSA* XL, pl. 29). What is left of the rim of this helmet is like the Axos helmet, a curve but no nick; it may be of the third quarter of the seventh century. I know no helmets with plastic divisions on Corinthian vases. Later Corinthian helmets with mouth-holes are found on an Amazon from Trikala (Kastriotes Ἀσκληπιεῖον Τρικαλῆς, pl. 7; Casson, *Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1922); and on a warrior from Olympia, both of the second half of the sixth century (*Ol.* IV, pl. VII).

The stages of development for Corinthian helmets do not necessarily apply to other helmets. A helmet which leaves the face uncovered can have a well curved contour and a straight edge, like the helmet of a sphinx on an aryballos found near Knossos (Payne, *JHS* 1933, 293); it was less important to have it well fitting behind; compare the helmet of a bronze Amazon at

Athens; De Ridder, *Cat. des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole*, 815. I hope to deal with these monuments in detail later. Kukahn (p. 15) rightly connects this type with Crete: it is descended from helmets like the Praisos miniatures Nos. 17–22 (pl. 11). These miniatures are among the earliest Greek models that exist. They have been compared by Dohan (*Met. Mus.* III, figs. 1 and 2) with the helmets on terracottas found at Praisos; rather doubtfully, perhaps, for the latter may be representing a flap or cheek-piece (see below). A neck-guard is visible on the Kavousi reliefs (Kunze, pl. 56e on the right; complete warriors in the middle of the picture, second row from the top; also on the sphinxes, pl. 56e on the left, bottom row). There is a neck-guard on the warriors of the Hunter Shield (Kunze, No. 6, pl. 14, 15 and c. pl. 19 above; as on the drawing, Beil. 1). Dr. Kunze thinks the projection is the end of the crest: but the crest on pl. 14 is quite clearly on the other side of the incision line and in pl. 15 the crest is curling off backwards. In any case it is not a slavish copy of a foreign model which would be reproduced unchanged for fifty years; an unsuccessful attempt at adaptation which would not recur. The helmet of the sphinx on the aryballos at Knossos (*JHS* 1933, p. 293) represents, I take it, the helmet actually in use in Crete about the middle of the seventh century, though perhaps the very free curve of this helmet may be due more to a peculiarity of Cretan drawing in the middle of the century than to a pronounced development in helmets. Certainly an ivory seal with this kind of helmet, found at Perachora, should be earlier than the Knossos aryballos. Payne (*Ill. London News*, 2 May 1931, 748) dated this seal in the first quarter of the seventh century. The painted helmets of the early seventh century show far less precision than this ivory.

A development of this type is to be seen on a silver bowl from Amathus (Myres, *JHS* LIII, 1933, 25), which has been claimed for the second quarter of the seventh century (*op. cit.* p. 27), but the fly-away off-set edge behind is first seen on the second type of Rhodian plastic helmets mentioned above (p. 79). It is just visible on the first warrior attacking the city from the right in Myres, pl. III. The draughtsman of Myres' pl. I has missed this detail, and makes the bottom of the helmet disappear behind the shield. This stage, therefore, is after rather than before 600 B.C. The curl on the helmet is characteristic of the sixth rather than of the seventh century: Kukahn pl. 3, 4, No. 134. Contrast the neat palmette of the helmet in the Louvre (Lipperheide No. 57): see p. 79 above.

Another monument on which this type of helmet appears is the terracotta *sima* from Palaikastro (*BSA* XI, pl. 15; XL, pl. 17). It is worn by a warrior like those on mass-produced Corinthian vases from 625 to 550 B.C. It is unlikely that it would have been used on a big temple when it had become stale and outworn; more likely that the vases echoed a well-known public building in Corinth, which was also imitated in Crete. The frieze is therefore not much after 600 B.C.

Conical helmets have been found in Greece, but Kukahn cites some (p. 13, 1–6) which I suspect may approximate fairly closely to the "skittle" helmet (*ibid.*, p. 11, 1–15); the difference in style may be more a matter of drawing than of helmets; *i.e.*, the ill-defined representations which Kukahn characterises as cap, conical, or skittle helmets may all represent one type of helmet. There is no reason for separating the helmet of the terracotta from Amyklai (Kukahn, No. 4, p. 11; good photograph, *AM* 1930, *Beilage* XLII) from the helmet of the centaur group in New York (*Beilage* XXXVIII; cf. 13, 1). The miniature helmet, Palaikastro No. 31 (*BSA* XL, pl. 28, 31) with lines round the cap may be of this type. It is made in two halves laced together, like the other miniatures, and is probably of about the same date.

A helmet that is definitely a cap becomes common on Attic b.f. vases in the second quarter of the sixth century (*e.g.*, the helmet of Artemis on a Tyrrhenian amphora in Corneto, *A.D.* 1,

22; fragments in Athens, Graef, *Akropolis Vasen*, pl. 24 a, f). It is the kind of helmet worn a century earlier by the Tyszkiewicz bronze, the crest fastened with pins fore and aft (*Mon. Piot*, p. 137, pl. XV: new photographs in Boston).[1] Another cap-helmet is worn by one of the warriors on an unpublished Perachora seal. It looks rather like a proto-Attic helmet; compare the early example quoted by Payne (*NC* p. 116, No. 462, from Delos). This seal may belong to the middle of the seventh century.

A conical helmet was common in Assyria in the eighth century. Before 700 B.C. a cap-helmet, with flaps and a crest that looks Greek, became current (Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. XXVI), and some such development took place in Greek lands, perhaps in Cyprus (Furtwängler, *Olympia IV, Die Bronzen*, pl. LXII, 1031; Lipperheide, p. 89, 434b). There is not enough of the cap-helmet, Palaikastro No. 31, to show whether it had flaps or not. The helmets on the Praisos terracottas (p. 79) are probably of the 'cap' type with the addition of a cheek-piece. There are fillets which go round the cap at the back, but in front and further down there is an edge. They are of the early seventh century. A helmet in an ivory plaque from Sparta with a mouthpiece (*Artemis Orthia*, pl. CVIII) is a later variant, still in the seventh century; in the Scheurleer head a neck-guard is added, before the end of the century. But a type with flap and no neck-guard persisted well into the sixth century (Béquignon, *BCH* 1929, p. 105, fig. 2). It is curious that Béquignon should call it a Corinthian helmet. The helmets on the pithos from Sparta (*Artemis Orthia*, pl. XVI) are probably to be dated in the first half of the sixth century. The same general type occurs on a Clazomenian sherd from Tel Defenneh in London (*A.D.* 11, 21, 3) which looks later.

Let us now use our group to date corselets. Hagemann (*Griechische Panzerung*) showed how the 'bell' corselet gave place to the fully plastic corselet in the fifth century. He also catalogued a miniature corselet found at Praisos (his No. 32, fig. 44; *BSA* XL, pl. 31, C) between the Crowe and the Olympia corselets. On *BSA* XL, pl. 31, 13 is the back of such a corselet with the front still attached. Hagemann's fig. 65 shows how close it is to the Crowe corselet, when the latter is reduced to the same scale. The corselets are broader for their height than those on the Chigi vase (*PV* pl. 28, top, *l.* and *r.* figures), but this may be a matter of drawing. It is at any rate a short corselet, well off the hips, with plastic marks for the breasts and the stomach. On an aryballos in the Louvre (*CVA* III C a, pl. 14, 8) to be dated just before the Chigi vase, there is a corselet of a different shape, fitting down on the buttocks with less inner-marking; compare also the cuirass on an aryballos in Boston, close fitting, no breast marks. Johansen (pl. XXXIII f.) has drawn this corselet too short; it goes right up to the neck. Compare also the warrior on another aryballos in Boston: Johansen, pl. XXVII, I associate the plain long corselets (Praisos Nos. 2–10, pl. 31) with those on these proto-Corinthian vases and date them earlier than the shorter and more plastic kind, within the same century as the rest of the dedicated armour.[2] It is more reasonable to start with a pipe shape and proceed to a partially articulated, and then to a fully articulated corselet, than to interpose the pipe shape between the less and the more articulated as Nierhaus wishes to do. All corselets on careful plastic monuments of the sixth century are partially articulated, short, and well off the

[1] The curls below the neck of this bronze have never been satisfactorily explained. They begin and stop in a completely arbitrary fashion. They are shaped like the curls of lion's manes (*e.g.*, the lion of the Chigi vase), or like the locks on the chest of a Hittite warrior, the 'Watcher by the Gate' at Boghazkoi (O. Puchstein, *Boghaskoi, Die Bauwerke*, pl. 19; Schaeffer und Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, p. 554). Do the curls on the bronze also represent a hairy chest?

[2] Nierhaus (*JDI* 53 p. 106, 1) considers them later than the articulated corselets, 'perhaps sixth century.' Long plain corselets are sometimes shown on Attic vases in the sixth century, *e.g.*, Tyrrhenian neck-amphora in the Louvre (*CVA* III, H *d*, pl. 11, 3); amphora by Lydos in Berlin (Pfuhl, no. 241); especially on Amazons. All plastic illustrations, *e.g.*, neck-amphora in Würzburg, Langlotz, pl. 48, 202, are articulated; see Béquignon's illustrations, *BCH* 1929, pp. 102, ff.

hips. See the illustrations of statuettes in Béquignon, *BCH* 1929, p. 102 ff: also corselets on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

The dating of Melian vases is not fully determined, but by these criteria, the amphora depicting well-articulated corselets, placed first on Nierhaus' list (fig. 8, p. 105) will not be earlier than the proto-Corinthian vases quoted above, with less well-articulated corselets. It may even belong to the sixth, not to the seventh century.

Lastly, there are *mitrai* (Hagemann, pp. 99–100). So far as I know, these are never represented in art; the statuette in Berlin, usually quoted as illustrating the use of the Cretan mitra, is wearing something of a different shape and much larger. They are only common in Crete, and only decorated in Crete. The Olympia corselet here supposed to be Cretan looks unfinished and has an unusual buckle, to which a mitra could be attached. The other decorated mitrai are adequately published only in Levi's paper. Those with purely floral designs may be a little earlier, some of those with horses a little later; but the fifty years in the middle of the seventh century will probably cover the decorated mitrai: Levi, fig. 28. The mitra from Dreros gives another contact between mitra and shields, cf. Kunze, 68, pl. 46. The undecorated mitrai may be earlier, but probably not very much earlier. The mitrai gave place to the use of leather flaps very likely covered with metal; the Melian vase mentioned above is the earliest appearance of these.

Dr. Kunze has objected to my dating of the Idaean Cave shields, that they would go so badly with the Cretan armour, which I believe to be contemporary. We have only Dr. Kunze's word for it that the Cretan votive shields are war-shields at all. The ordinary war shield was no doubt like the miniature shields at Praisos and Palaikastro, or like those carried on the Idaean stand-fragments, and on the ' Hunter Shield ' (Kunze, No. 6, pl. 10). It has already been suggested that such queer, foreign-looking shields may be the cult shields of the Kouretes.

AN ARCHAIC GREEK STATUETTE FROM SOUTH ARABIA

The statuette of which photographs are reproduced here was seen by Major the Honble. R. A. B. Hamilton, who writes:—

'In January 1939 I was riding with a concourse of tribesmen past the old ruin of a fort, which lies at the mouth of the Wadi Jardan, in the Aden Protectorate: Long. 47° E.: Lat. 15° N. A tribesman ran after our party and offered me a small statuette for sale. I asked him where he had found it and he replied that it had been washed out of the ruin by a flood the year before. He demanded Rs. 200 for it. I tried to beat him down but he refused to drop his price. There was, for many reasons, little time for argument, and I had no more than Rs. 50 of my own money with me.

'I dismounted and examined the statuette. It stood five inches high and was of bronze. I stood it on the sand and photographed it, and I enclose the photographs herewith.[1]

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

'I have not been able to return to the territory since and efforts to obtain the statuette by correspondence have failed.'

[1] From these minute photographs the illustrations above have been enlarged to about half the size of the original.

I doubt if, in a photograph three quarters of an inch high, an unknown ancient statuette can be distinguished, with certainty, from a cunning modern copy of such a statuette: but the bronze in the photograph has every appearance of genuineness.

It represents a warrior wearing corslet, helmet, and greaves, but no chiton. The hands are missing: the right hand probably held a spear, upright; the left arm may have had the shield, although no traces of attachment are visible in the photograph.

It would be a good Greek work from the middle of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.; Peloponnesian, and very possibly Laconian. It goes in style and subject with the following bronzes, most of which have been put together before:—

Athens 7644, from Lykosoura in Arcadia. *BCH* 1929, p. 111, fig. 8; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, fig. 226.

Athens 6233, from Olympia. *Olympia* 4, pl. 7, 41; *BCH* 1929, p. 108, fig. 4; Zervos, fig. 225.

Athens, from Pherai in Thessaly. *BCH* 1929, pl. 4 and p. 104.

Athens 7598, from Selinus in Laconia. *AM* 3, pl. 1, 1–2; Langlotz, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschalen*, pl. 49, *d*; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. 28, *a*; *BCH* 1929, p. 110, fig. 6.

Samos, from Samos. *JHS* 53, p. 289, fig. 15.

Oxford, from Dodona? *JHS* 30, pl. 12, 2.

Athens 14789, from the sanctuary of Apollo Korynthos near Longa in Messenia. *Delt.* 2, pl. 1; Langlotz, pl. 50, *b*; Lamb, pl. 28, *b*; *BCH* 1929, p. 111, fig. 7; Zervos, fig. 228.

Athens, from Dodona. *Praktika* 1930, pl. 2–3; *Anzeiger* 1932, p. 146.

Berlin 216, from Olympia. Part of a vessel. *BCH* 1929, p. 113; Neugebauer, *Die minoischen und archaisch-griechischen Bronzen*, pl. 40.

I do not remember hearing of any other archaic or classical Greek bronzes being found in the Arabian peninsula.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

[*For the loan of the blocks the* Annual *is indebted to the courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in whose periodical* Man *the discovery is announced.*]

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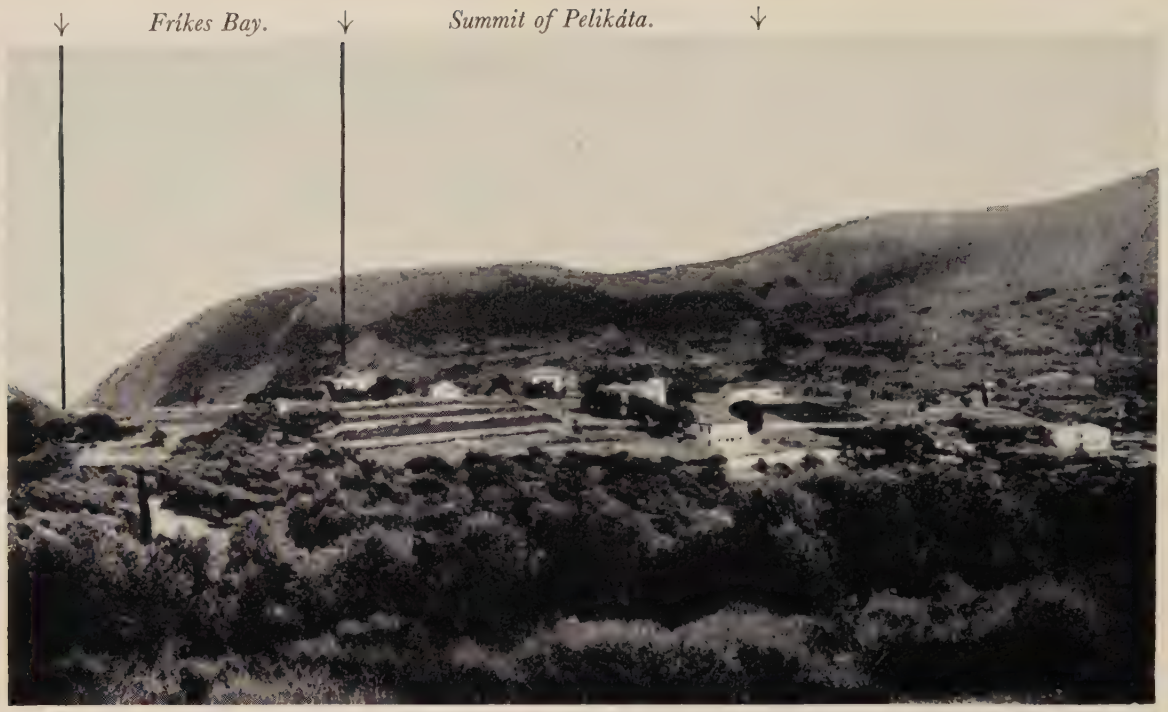
SKETCH MAP OF ITHACA, WITH THE NORTHERN REGION ENLARGED.



PELIKÁTA FROM THE WEST.

PELIKÁTA FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Afáles Bay, from Hagios Athanásios: Leucas Beyond.

Pelikáta: Remains of Circuit Wall, Northern End.

AETOS: (*a*) VIEW SOUTHWARD, OVERLOOKING PISAËTÓ COVE.

AETÖS: (*b*) VIEW NORTHWARD, OVERLOOKING MÓLO GULF.

A. Pisaëtó: Top of Harbour Wall.

B. Aëtós: Corner of a Tower of the Fourth Century, B.C.

A. HAGIOS ATHANÁSIOS: THE SPRING CHAMBER.

B. HAGIOS ATHANÁSIOS: PART OF A FLIGHT OF STEPS.

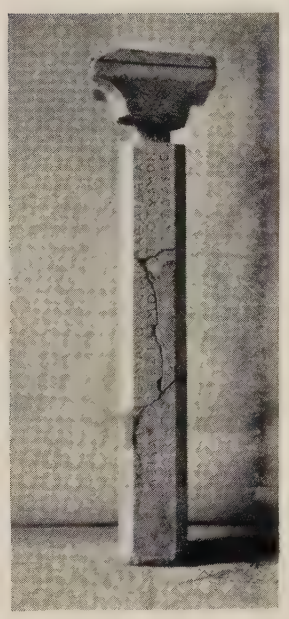
C. STAVRÓS: A TILE-GRAVE.

D. STAVRÓS: WALL CROSSING THE RIDGE.

1

2

3



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No. 4 is on p. 37.

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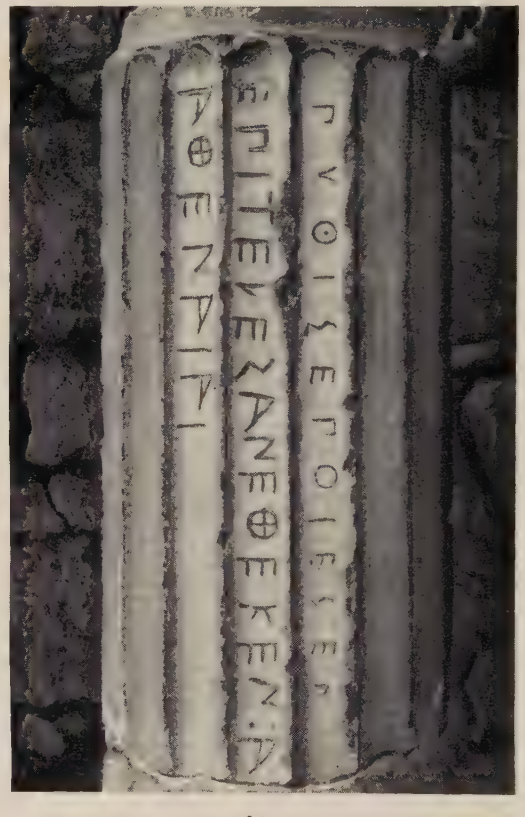

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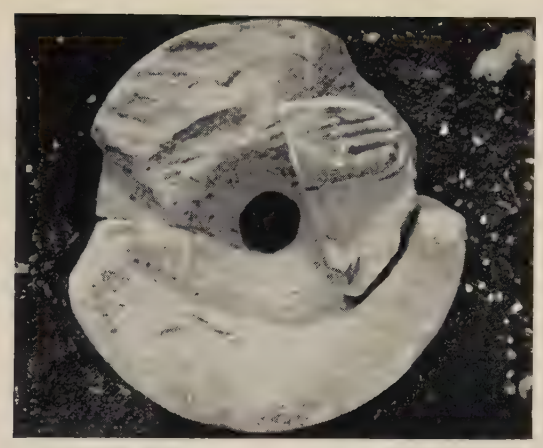

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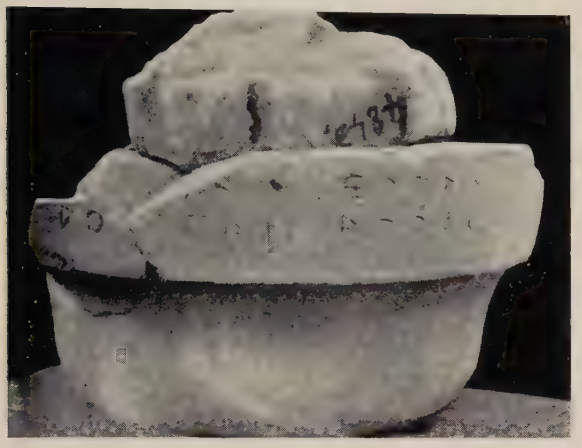

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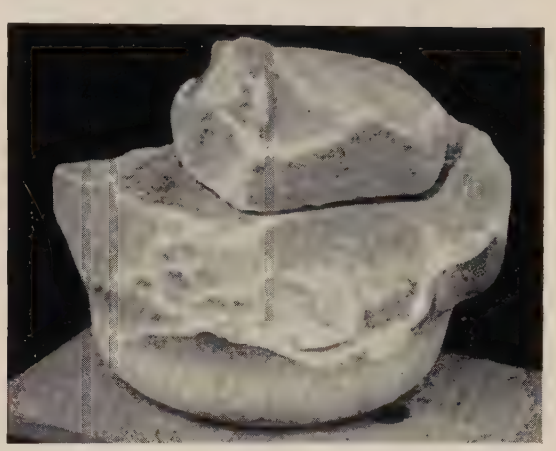

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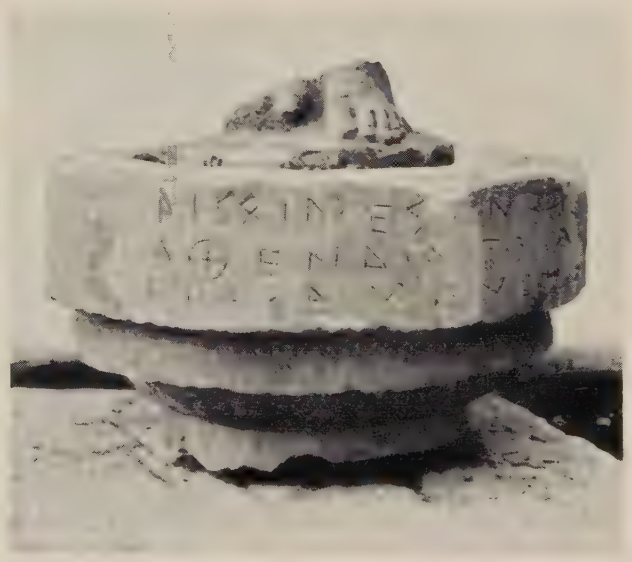

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31

No. 30 *is not figured.*

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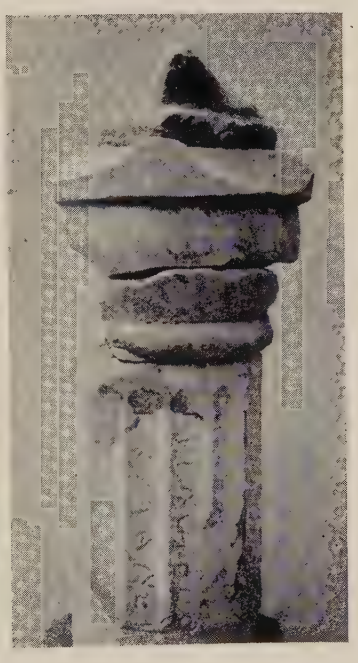

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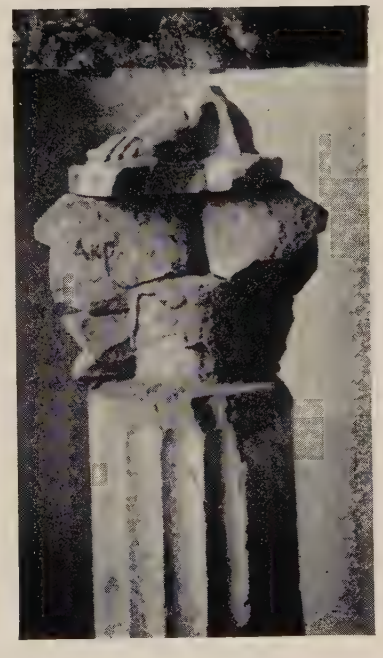

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Nos. 37 *and* 41 *are printed in the text, p.* 32.

EARLY ATTIC VOTIVE MONUMENTS.

42

ATHENA AND HERMES ON AN ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASE.

[*CVA. BM* III. Ic, pl. 46, 2*a*, 2*b*; 51.3.]

43

Votive Statue of Athena: Acropolis No. 140.

TYPICAL MINOAN POTTERY FROM PALAIKASTRO.

Scale in centimetres.

r s

t u

LATE MINOAN VASES FROM PALAIKASTRO.

v w x

y z

STONE VESSELS AND PERFORATED HAMMER FROM PALAIKASTRO.

HELLENISTIC POTTERY FROM THE TEMPLE SITE AT PALAIKASTRO.

PLATE 16.

Terracotta Sima from the Temple Site at Palaikastro - Candia Museum.
From a photograph: compare the drawing *BSA* XI plate xv.

Male Head of a Votive Terracotta Figure from Praisos: Candia Museum.

Compare *BSA* VIII, pl. xiii, 1.

Male Head of a Votive Terracotta Figure from Praisos: Back View.

A. MINOAN BULL'S HEAD OF CLAY, FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM.

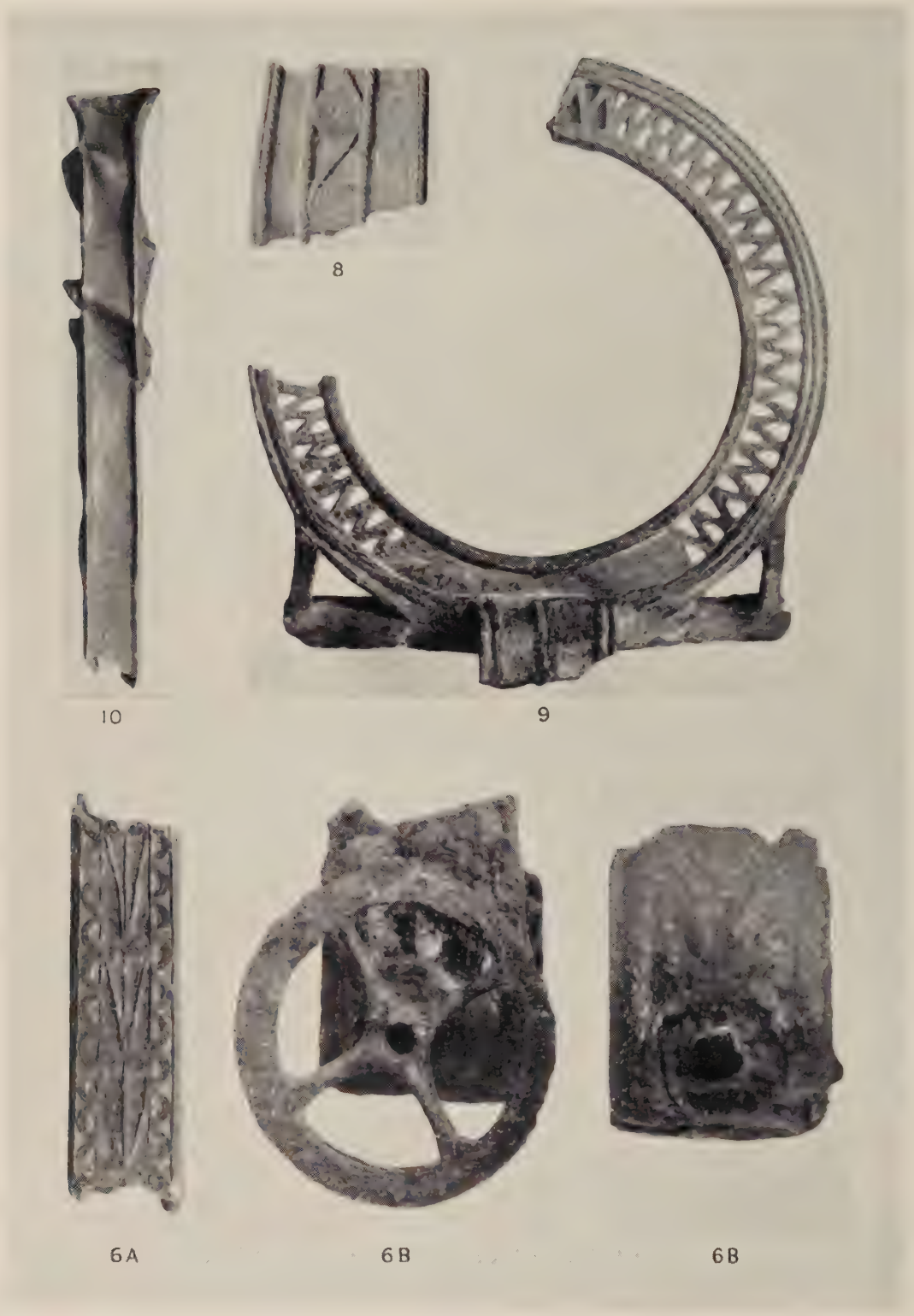
1 2 4 5 7

3 6

B. VOTIVE TERRACOTTAS, MINOAN (1, 3, 4, 6, 7) AND HELLENIC (2, 5) FOUND AT PISKOKEPHALO, NEAR PRAISOS: CANDIA MUSEUM.

Scale about 1 : 2.

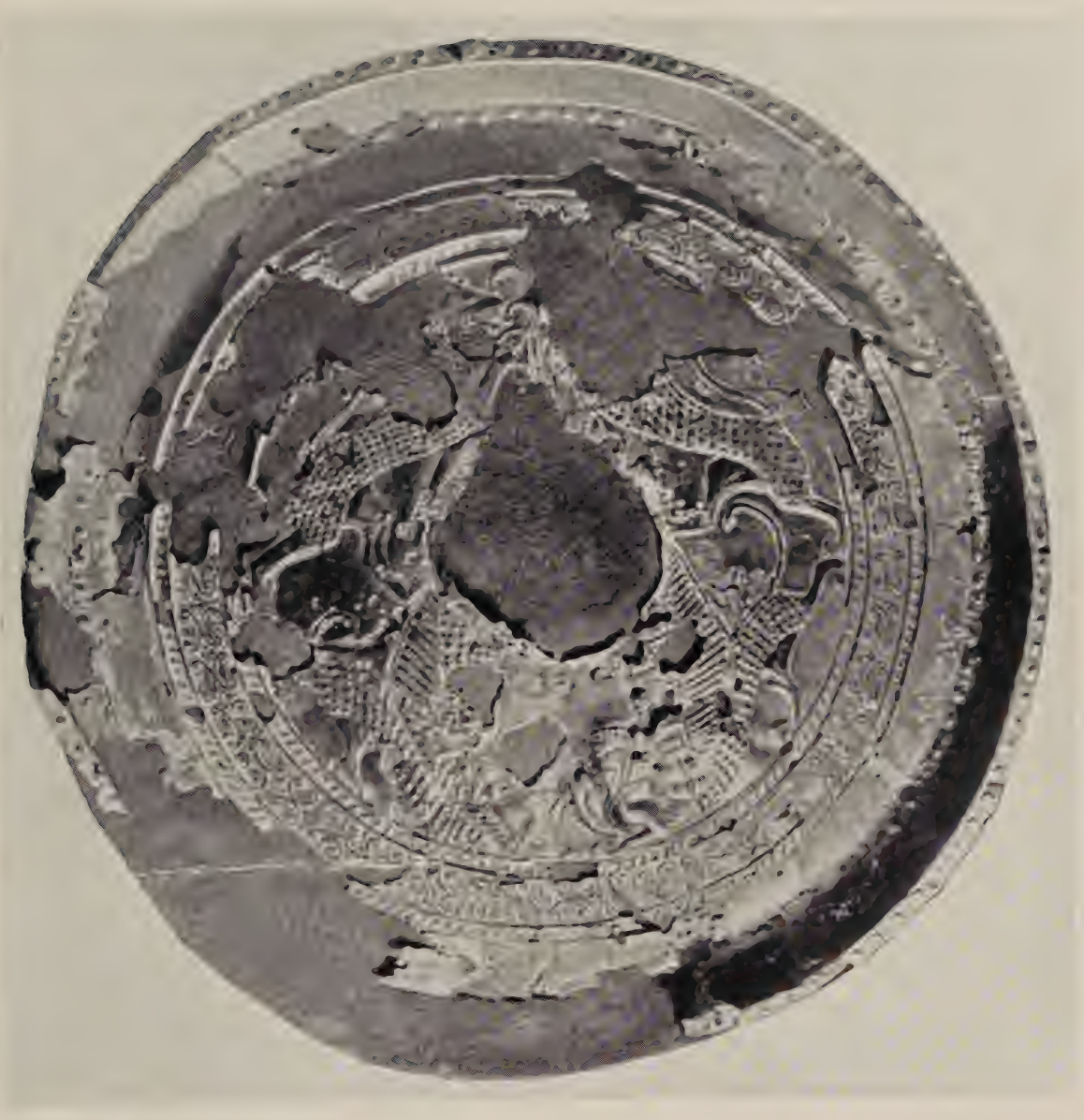
FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE TRIPOD-CAULDRONS FROM PALAIKASTRO.
The numbers are those of the objects described in the text.



FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE TRIPOD-CAULDRONS FROM PALAIKASTRO (6, 8, 10).
No. 9 is from Arkades : all in Candia Museum.

12. FRAGMENT OF A BRONZE SHIELD FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM 1305.

13. FRAGMENTS OF A BRONZE SHIELD FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM 1306.
The centre consists of separate fragments, but seems to belong to the same shield. See also details Pl. 27, 13 A, B.



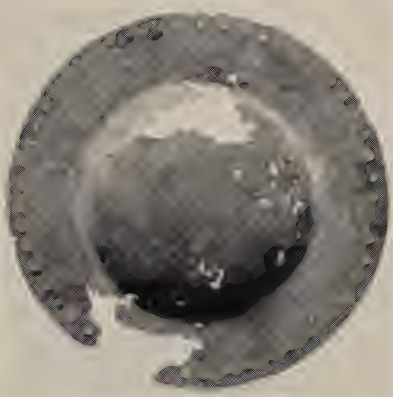
14. Fragmentary Bronze Shield from Palaikastro: Candia Museum 1304.

15. Fragmentary Bronze Shield from Palaikastro: Candia Museum 1307.

15

37

16



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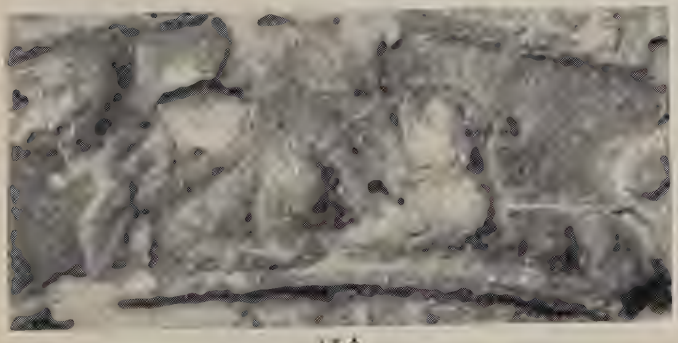


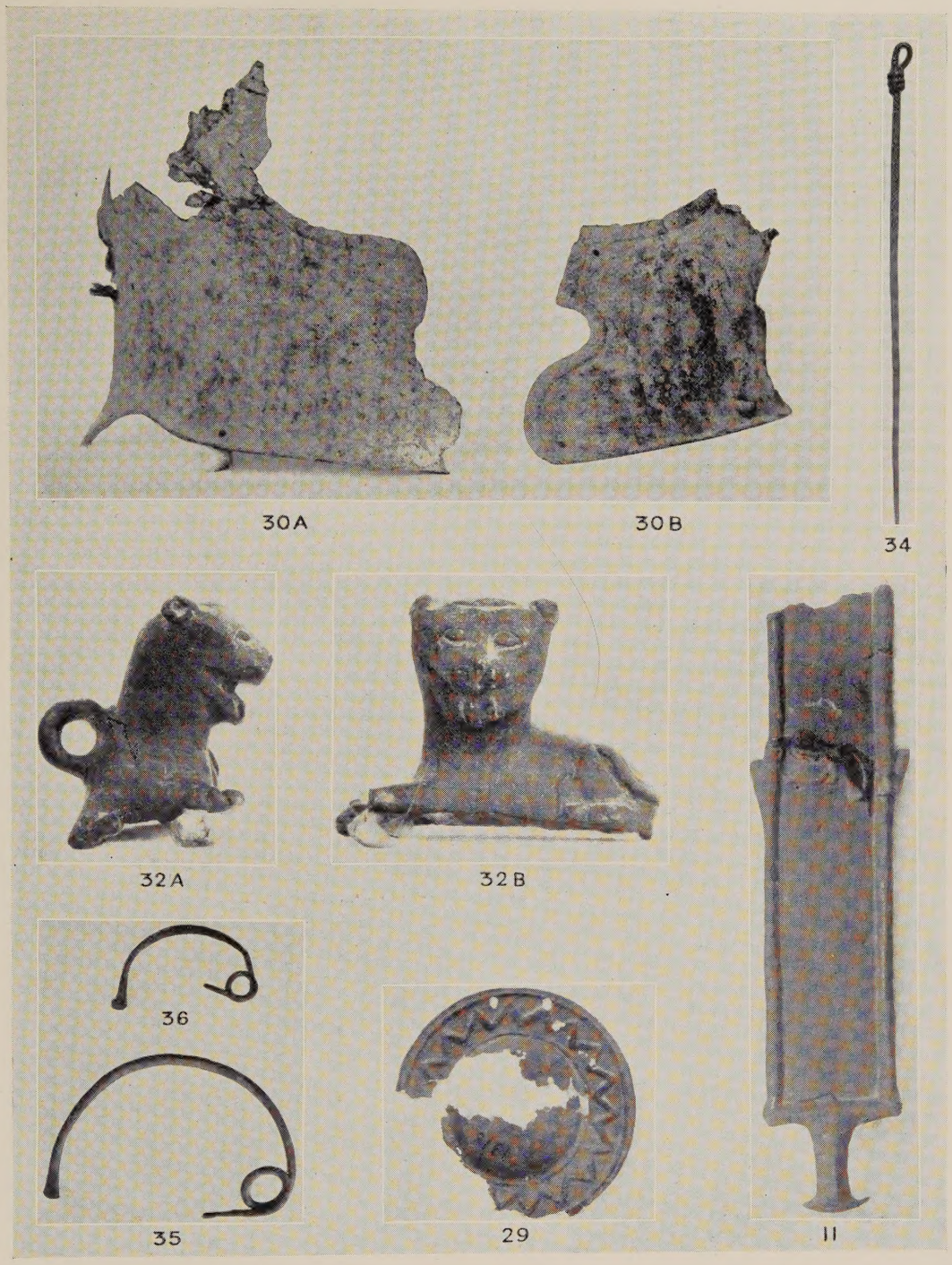
13A

13B

BRONZE SHIELDS (FRAGMENT 15, DETAILS 13, 16. MINIATURE 17) AND MIRROR-HANDLE (37) FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM.

MITRA FROM AXOS: CANDIA MUSEUM.

BRONZES FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM.

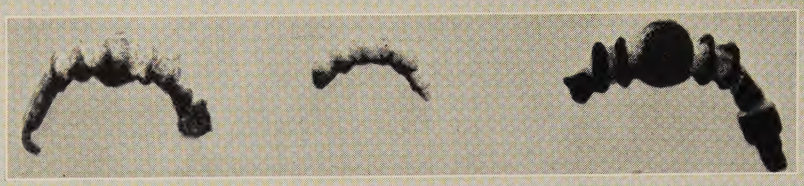


FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE HELMET AND OTHER OBJECTS FROM PALAIKASTRO: CANDIA MUSEUM.

BRONZE STATUETTES (28, 29, 30) AND SILVER BAND (51 A, B) FROM PRAISOS: CANDIA MUSEUM.

The lion (I) *is of ivory, from Praisos.*

MINIATURE CORSELETS (2, 13, C) HELMET (17) AND LEGS OF A STATUE (31) FROM PRAISOS: CANDIA MUSEUM.



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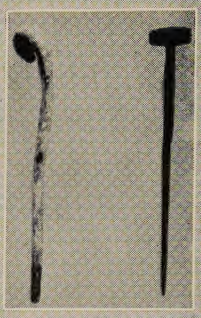

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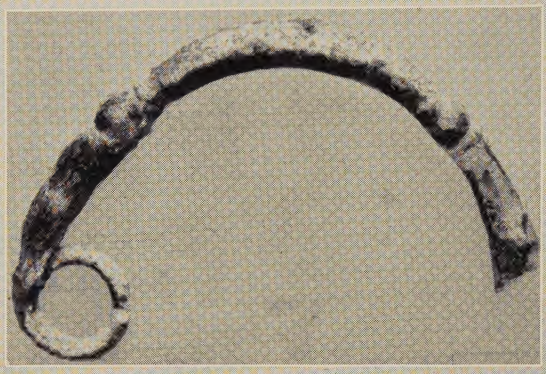

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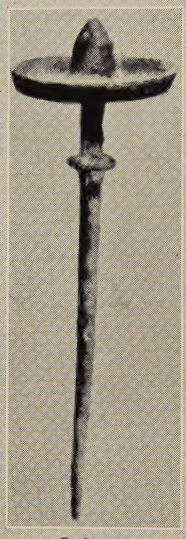
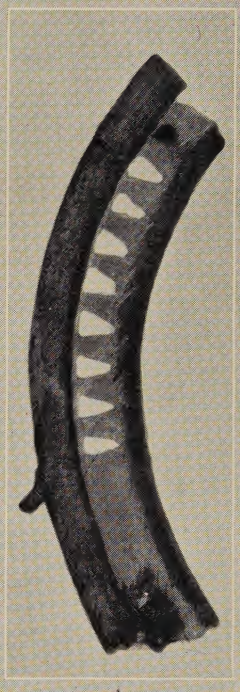


S.2



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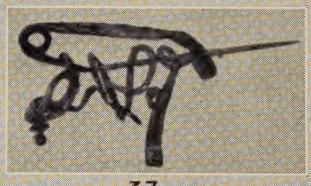

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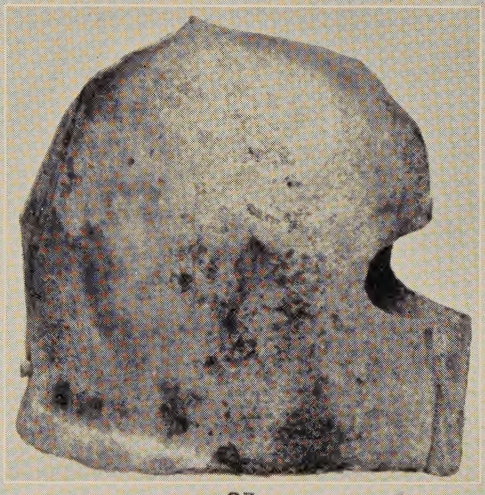

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BRONZE OBJECTS FROM PRAISOS: CANDIA MUSEUM.